



J. Smith del.

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MISCELLANEOUS
STATE PAPERS.

From 1501 to 1726.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

V O L. I.

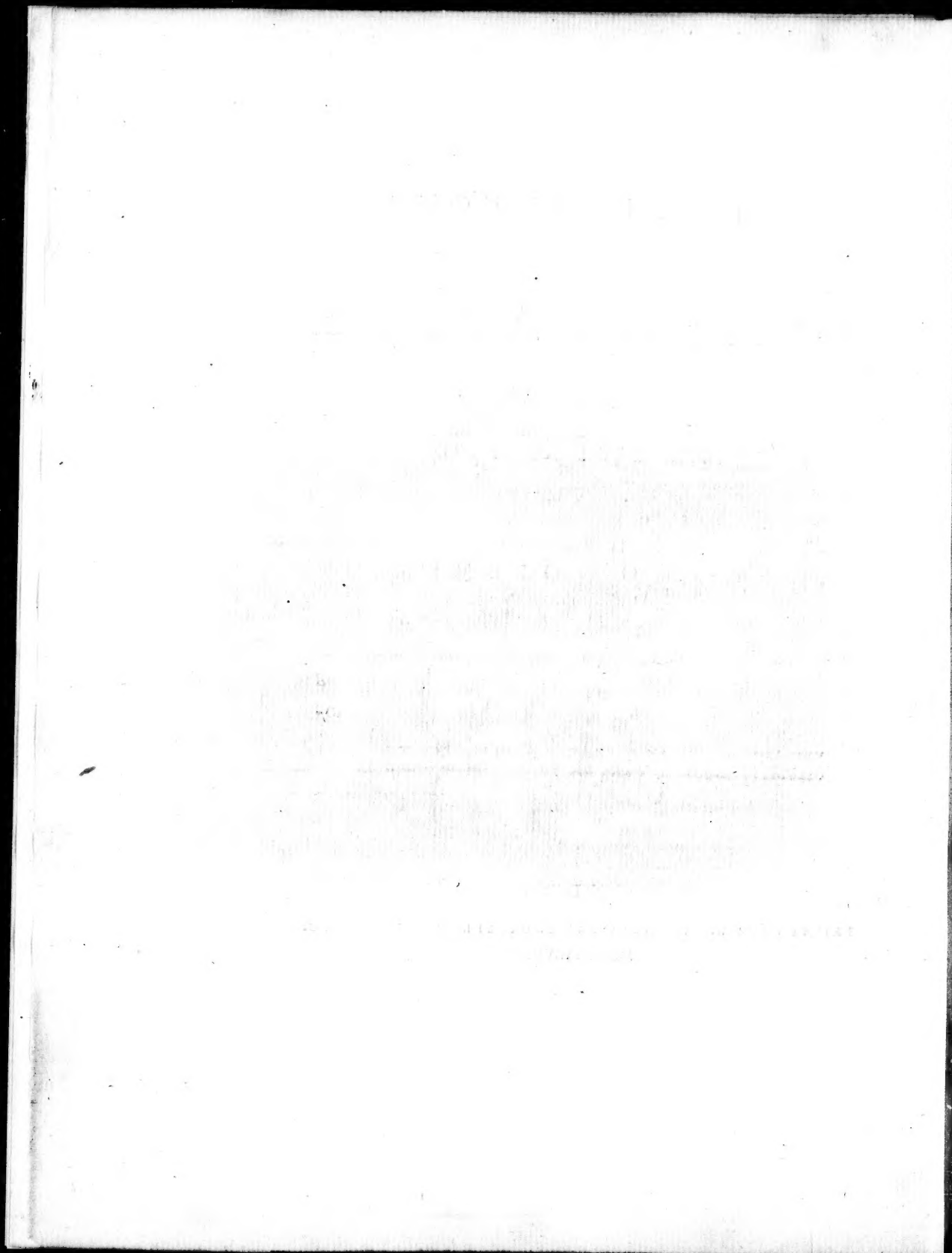
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MDCCLXXVIII.



P R E F A C E.

AS the Public must ultimately decide on the merits of every work, and their opinion is neither to be corrupted by flattery, nor biased by prejudice, the Editor thinks nothing else necessary, by way of Introduction, than to open the plan of the Collection, and to assign a few reasons, for adding one more to the numerous publications of this kind, which the world is already possessed of.

The principal idea which has prevailed in the choice of the materials, has been, not to dwell too long on any one subject, or any one period; and to select such papers, as mark most strongly the characters of celebrated Princes and their Ministers, and illustrate some memorable æra, or remarkable series of events. It seems superfluous to observe, that the introductions prefixed to most of the articles will connect (as far as was practicable) the different divisions of the work with general history, and lead the reader's attention to such points as he may think deserve it best. Notes are occasionally inserted at the bottom of the page, with the same view: and it is hoped they will not be thought either tedious or trifling.

The Editor is well aware of the disgust which often arises to a delicate taste, from the antiquated style and stiff phraseology, which unavoidably occur in these publications of historical documents. It is presumed, however, that many nervous and able dispatches will be found here, of a remote date, which do credit to the compositions of those early times, on topics of business. And it may be fairly asserted, that new lights are thrown on the conduct and characters of some eminent persons; as Burleigh, Walsingham, Leicester, and Charles I.; notwithstanding that part of our history may appear to superficial readers to have been already exhausted.

Some facts and incidents of small importance may, indeed, be pointed out, in the course of the papers, as languid and uninteresting. But it is to be considered, that in every picture there must be some shades; and that it was impossible to avoid this objection but by giving broken extracts; by which mode the connection and arrangement of the writer's narrative and sentiments would have been greatly disturbed. The reader will consult his taste, and turn over those pages, where nothing attracts him: though the Editor flatters himself that many such will not be met with. He will not attempt to recommend himself at the expence of those who have gone before him;

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him; and therefore declines giving any reasons why the plan he has adopted may deserve the preference.

Whoever looks into these Volumes will be better prepared for his future entertainment, if he pleases to consider the work before him as an historical picture gallery, where the different modes and fashions of upwards of two centuries are exhibited in regular succession. The politics and sentiments of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth's time, differ as much from those of William III. and of George I. as the ruff and fardingale in the habits of the former, from the hoop petticoat, and long pockets of the latter. There may be pieces of inferior masters in the gallery; but, doubtless, some Titians and Vandykes will be distinguished.—The relation of the Princess Catherine's reception, with which we open, and of the late Queen of France's marriage, with which we conclude, as they represent the fashions and ceremonial of the respective times, may be thought good companions to the picture of the *Champ de Drap d'Or*, in Windsor Castle.

The Editor cannot conclude, without acknowledging the useful assistance which he has received from the Rev. Dr. Douglas, Residentiary of St. Paul's. It is difficult to say, whether the zeal of that gentleman on every occasion, where a friend is concerned, or the judgment and ability which he exerts in serving him, are most conspicuous.

Nothing remains but to submit this Collection, with proper resignation and deference, to the judgment of the Public. Their information and amusement have been the only objects in view ; and, it is hoped, the endeavour will be attended with some success.

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| Page 46. line 23. | for blotted out, <i>read</i> bolted out. |
| 50. | 23. for Roan, <i>read</i> Rhine. |
| 60. | 30. for Chenevy, <i>read</i> Geneva. |
| 86. | 22. for Sunday, <i>read</i> Saturday. |
| 94. | 7. for not unpunished, <i>read</i> unpunished. |
| 95. | 11. for which marble, <i>read</i> white marble. |
| | 24. for pledges, <i>read</i> pages. |
| 113. | &c. for Newhavenbridge, <i>read</i> Newnambridge. |
| 118. | 15. for both, <i>read</i> loth. |
| 121. | 15. for remarkable, <i>read</i> remarkably. |
| 131. | 24. for move, <i>read</i> give. |
| 350. | 10. for told, <i>read</i> bold. |
| 353. | 7. for defend, <i>read</i> offend. |
| 390. | 15. for though a man of Honour, <i>read</i> in the main a man of Honour. |
| 409. | 5. from bottom, <i>for</i> come, <i>read</i> Rome. |
| 433. | 7. for to cast ourselves, <i>read</i> to part ourselves. |
| 555. | 8. for 'tis inflexible, <i>read</i> us inflexible. |
| 556. | 20. for promised, <i>read</i> premised. |
| 558. | for From the Same to Lord Doncaster, <i>read</i> , From the Same to the Same. |

MISCELLANEOUS
STATE PAPERS,
Ec. Ec. Ec.

No. I.

Certain Notes taken out of the Entertainment of Katherine, Wife of Arthur, Prince of Wales, Oct. 1501.

Harleian
Collection,
69. 25.

[This is printed * as a curious specimen of State ceremonial during times, when the pomp, order, and magnificence of Courts were kept up to the height. The Princess too, who was the occasion of it, was innocently, but unfortunately for herself, the source of great events.]

IT is ordained, that my Lord Steward †, and the other persons thereto appointed, be attending upon the Princess in their barks, somewhat before she come to Gravesend, and there hail and salute in the best manner they can; and that the minstrels fail not to do their parts as accordeth to them, and as soon as her ship shall be fallen to an anchor, the said Lord Steward and all other Nobles shall go into the ship wherein the said Princess shall be, and after the

* In the fifth volume of the last edition of Leland's Collectanea, p. 352, &c. is a narrative of the Princess Katherine's arrival and reception, &c.; but it differs entirely from what is here laid before the public; containing only her journey from Plymouth, where she landed, to Kennington near Lambeth, where she con-

tinued till every thing was prepared for her public entry; the particulars of which, never before printed, are the subject of the present article. A Narrative of the joys, banquets, and disguisings, after the marriage, may be seen in the above volume of the Collectanea, from p. 356, to p. 373. † Lord Brooke.

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King's commendations made by my said Lord Steward; the Queen's by her Chamberlain, and the Prince's, by his Chamberlain, in such form as they shall be by them commanded; the Prior of Canterbury shall say the proposition, after the which, my said Lord Steward shall shew, or cause, to be shewed to the said Princess, that the King's Grace, tenderly considering her great and long pain and travel upon the sea, would full gladly that she had landed and lodged for the night at Gravesend: but forasmuch as the plague was there of late, and that is not yet clean purged thereof, the King would not that she should be put in any such adventure or danger, and therefore his Grace hath commanded the bark to be prepared and arrayed for her lodging: wherefore he shall on the King's behalf desire her, for her more ease and relief, to depart out of her own ship into the said bark; declaring to her also, that in the same she shall be conveyed to the city of London: and if it shall please the said Princess so to do, my said Lord Steward shall see that she shall be well and honourably entreated and entertained, in every behalf, and that she be served in the said bark of her diets, as appertaineth; and though the said Princess will not in any wise depart out of her ship into the said bark, before such time as she shall be strait conveyed into the city, the King's commandment yet is, that she have the said diets and all such victuals and wines as be provided for her, sent her in her ship, and there served with the same.

Item, That there be certain Ladies appointed by the Queen's Grace, to give their attendance upon the said Princess, that is to say, the Dutches of Norfolk and six women: the Countess of Kent and four women: the Countess of Salop and four women: the Lady Hungerford and two women: the Lady Grey, wife to the Earl of Kent's son, and two women: the Lady Abergavenny and two women: the Lady Cobham and two women: Dame Catherine Grey and one woman: Dame Jane Guilford and one woman: Dame Elizabeth Vaux and one woman: Dame Elizabeth Darcy and one woman: Dame Margaret Poyntz and one woman:

Dame Ann Tyrrel and one woman: Dame Eleanor Wyndham and one woman: Dame Tomazin Riste and one woman: Dame Isabella Poynings and one woman: Dame Sibill Scott and one woman: Dame Jane Darrell, wife to Sir Edward Darrell, and one woman: Dame Mary Lewis, wife to Sir Richard Lewis, and one woman: Dame Beatrix Tyrrel, wife to Sir Thomas Tyrrel, and one woman: Mrs. Hungerford, wife to the son and heir of Sir Walter Hungerford: Mrs. Wynham: Mrs. Fettyplace: Mrs. Russel: Mrs. Katherine Griffith, wife to the son and heir of Sir Rice ap Thomas: Mrs. Elizabeth Calthrop: and letters of the same intent forthwith to be sent by the Queen's Grace to the said Ladies, and all other Ladies, that shall give any attendance, or do any service at this feast, be forthwith written out to prepare them for their attendance: and that they be advertised by the same letters, to be ready upon an hour's warning, to come at such time, and at such place as shall be assigned unto them by the Queen's second letters: and that William Hollibrand, one of the Customers of London, for the cause following, be then attending the said Dutcheſs: and that the Queen's Chamberlain call diligently upon the said letters to be sent out unto the said Ladies, and give unto them warning at their coming, how they shall order themselves for the said intent in every behalf.

Item, That the said Dutcheſs and Ladies in their barges, be attending upon the said Princess, in the said place where she shall lie at anchor, by the space of one at the least, before she depart thence; whereof they shall have the more certain knowledge by my said Lord Steward: and at their coming thither, they shall go to the said Princess, to whom William Hollibrand, in as humble manner, and with as good speech as he can use, shall shew that the said Dutcheſs of Norfolk, and the other Ladies there, being present by the King's commandment, be come to visit and welcome her to the realm, to give her their attendance, to do her the service that may be to them possible, and convey her to her lodging: wherefore the

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ſaid Dutcheſs and Ladies moſt humbly beſeech her, thus to accept her and them, and to command them her good pleaſure: and my Lord Chamberlain hath the charge to give inſtruction to Hollibrand for the ordering of himſelf according to the premies.

Item, That certain Lords, ſpiritual and temporal, be in likewise the ſame time attending at the ſame place, to receive and convey the ſaid Princeſs by water, in their barges, to London: that is to ſay, Biſhop of Norwich and Rocheſter, in one barge: the Earl of Arundell and the Lord Maltravers, in another: the Earl of Eſſex, and my Lord Montjoy, in another: my Lords of Abergavenny, Delawar, and Clinton, in another: the Lords Howard, Berneis, and Dacres, in another: the Abbots of St. Auſtin, and Battle, in another: and that the ſame Lords, in the company of the ſaid Dutcheſs, viſit the Princeſs in her ſhip. My Lord Chamberlain hath taken upon him the warning of thoſe Lords.

Item, That ſemblable letters, as the letters that the Queen's Grace ſhall write to the Ladies, whereof is mention made before, be forthwith ſent by the King's Grace, not only to the ſaid Lords and Nobles, but alſo to all others that ſhall give attendance or do any ſervice at this feaſt: and as ſoon as the King's Grace ſhall have certain knowledge of the place, port, and time, that the ſaid Princeſs ſhall be transported to, then both his Grace and the Queen with all diligence ſend forth the ſaid ſecond letters: and that in the ſaid ſecond letters, the time and place when and whereunto, the Lords, Ladies, and others ſhall come, be ſpecially expreſſed, and that every Biſhop and Abbot be advertiſed to bring with them their pontificals; and of theſe both firſt and ſecond-letters, and the ſending of them forth, ſhall have the charge, the King and Queen's Secretaries.

Item, The ſaid Princeſs ſhall alſo be met about the Black-Wall, with the ſtates following: that is to ſay, the Duke of Bucks in one barge: the Biſhop of Bath in another: the Biſhop of Exeter in another:

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another: the Earl of Northumberland in another: the Earl of Kent in another: the Lords Saintmound and Stourton in another: the Abbot of Glastonbury in another: the Abbot of Abingdon in another. My Lord Chamberlain shall advertise them of their attendance.

Item, The Mayor and Crafts of London shall meet her, in their several barges, after their manner accustomed, at Deptford, and every of these barges shall hail and salute her in the best manner they can, and row about behind, and upon the sides of her ship, and of this attendance to be given by the Mayor and others, my Lord Chamberlain hath the charge to give warning unto them, and when they shall come upon the water, then they to be ordered by my Lord Steward.

Item, That for the more surety of the said barks and barges, and to make the more space and room for the passage of the same upon the Thames, it is ordained that Mr. Robert Rydon, Under Admiral, shall take such provision, that all the ships that shall fortune to be then in the Thames, be laid as nigh unto the shore, as they may be on the one side of the Thames, whereof my Lord Chamberlain shall advertise the said Mr. Rydon.

Item, That the Lords, Ladies, and all others, order them with their barges, about the bark of the said Princess, in the manner following: that is to say, my Lord of Bucks, and all that come in his company, to keep them upon the right hand of the said Princess: and the Lords that meet her first, upon the left side, and all the Ladies and ship boats, to come after her, and the Mayor and Crafts of London, to go before her: and that they have warning thereof by my Lord Steward: and at the coming of the said Princess in the wharf of the Tower of London, she shall be set on land on the west-side of St. Thomas's Tower, as it is 100 feet from the Tower-gate, and there she shall be received with my Lord of Yorke, the King's second son, accompanied with the Lords and

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Nobles following: that is to say, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Harrington, the Lord Strange, the Lord Hastings, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Zouch, the Lord William of Devon, the Lord William of Suffolk, the Abbot of Westminster, the Abbot of St. Albans: Sir Edward Stanley, Sir Edward Daniel, Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir Thomas Green, Sir William Terwitt, Sir Thomas Brandon, Sir John Longueville, Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir John Saville, Sir William Gascoigne, Sir John Hufsey, Sir Henry Heydon, Sir William Boleine, Sir Robert Broughton, Sir Hugh Conway, Sir John Rainford, Sir Henry Marney, Sir Richard Lewis, Sir Pierce Edgcumbe, Sir John Paston, Sir Philip Calthrop, Sir Robert Brandon, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir John Ferris, Sir Thomas Rotheram, Sir John Audley of Suffolk, Sir Thomas Bryan, Sir Edward Rawley, Sir John Verney, Sir John Digby, Sir Robert Clere, Sir Henry Willoughby, Sir Edward Stanhope, Sir John Wingfield, Sir Robert Paynton, Sir Thomas Bawde: and all these, with their servants waiting upon them, some upon the one side, and some upon the other, after their honor and degree, shall be ranged in an order upon the wharf of the Tower, by Sir Thomas Lovell, calling unto him the King's Marshal, and the Officers of the Marshalsea, and to call all the said Lords and Nobles together, and advertise them of that, to them is appointed, and to cause them to order them accordingly to the same. The Bishop of Durham and Sir Thomas Lovell have taken the charge upon them.

It is to be remembered that no barge attending upon the said Princess, take upon them to land in any place, neither upon the one side, nor upon the other of the Thames, but always to hover till the Princess be landed, and then depart to their lodgings at their pleasure, except the Ladies, the Duke of Bucks, and the Earls, which shall land with her, and convey her to her lodging;

and that my Lord Steward give unto them warning and charge of the same.

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It is appointed that the gate of the wharf of the said Tower towards St. Katherine's at the one end, be spied all the day, that the Princess shall arrive, and the other gate at the other end of the said wharf toward London, be kept by Officers of the Marshalsea, and the King's Bench, that no man enter by the same, but such only as shall attend upon my Lord of Yorke, and such honest persons as shall be thought convenient by the discretion of the said Sir Thomas Lovell; and that the same Officers of the Marshalsea and King's Bench keep all the said wharf, that no man land there by boats, and that the bridge over the Tower-ditch be surely made of a meet largeness, and sufficiently railed on both sides, and the ward-house before the gate taken away, or set apart: and afore the time the said Princess shall lodge in the Tower, her company shall lodge in the City at the *Harbigage* of the Mayor and his Officers, as nigh the Tower as conveniently may be done, or with their acquaintance lodging within the Tower, and then depart to their lodgings at their pleasure, if they shall so like; and the said Sir Thomas Lovell hath taken upon him the whole charge and execution of this article.

Item, It is thought convenient that the said Princess shall lodge in the Tower in the King's lodging, the same to be apparelled by my Lord Chamberlain, and there to rest two days or more, as shall please the King's Grace, and as the case shall require.

Item, The Queen's lodging, and six more of the best chambers within the Tower, be apparelled and dressed for the Ladies of the said Princess; and that this be done by Sir Charles Somersset, and Sir Thomas Lovell.

Item, At the coming of the said Princess to the Tower of London, and for the time of her resting there, it is thought that my Lord Steward shall provide for the diets of the said Lady, under the form

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form following: that is to say, for a chamber for herself, a chamber for her Ladies, a chamber for her Lords and other Nobles, and that the gates being kept, that as few enter in the same, except only strangers and honest persons, as may be, but only the officers and purveyors for the household, and such as shall be commanded by the King, or appointed to do service or attendance for the time, and during the feast, at Paul's and Westminster, and also for the time that the King shall afterwards be at his manor of Richmond, or his castle of Windsor, or any other place, till the Spaniards have taken their leave: the Lords and Ladies with their menial servants to have free resort at every meal to the King's house.

Item, When the Princess shall dislodge out of the Tower, it is appointed, that then my Lord of Yorke, and all the other Lords and Nobles that have given their attendance since she was first met, be ready at the said Tower on horseback, to convey her to the west door of the church of St. Paul's, and that no person but only the said Lords, and such gentlemen as shall await upon them, be on horseback, and that no Lord or other have any more servants attending upon him on foot, but only as followeth: that is to say, my Lord of Yorke 12, the Archbishop of Yorke 4, the Duke of Bucks 4, every Bishop and Earl 3, every Baron 2, and every Knight and Esquire 1; and that they, and every of them have thereof advertisement by my Lord Chamberlain, and that two of the King's servants appointed by my Lord Chamberlain, give their attendance upon the said Lords and Nobles, to cause them to keep this ordinance: and my said Lord of Abergavenny, having attending upon him for this time the officers of arms, hath taken upon him to put into due order the said Lords and Nobles, as appertaineth to their degrees and estates, and in the same order to keep them from their departing out of the Tower, to their coming to the said west door.

Item,

Item, That a rich litter be ready to receive and convey the said Princess to the west door of the church of St. Paul's. HENRY
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Item, That three horsemen in side-saddle and harness, all of one suit, be arrayed by the Master of the Queen's Horse, to follow next to the said Princess's litter.

Item, That a fair palfrey with a pillion, richly arrayed, and led in hand, for the said Princess, do follow next unto the said Horsemen.

Item, That 11 palfreys in one suit, be ordained for such Ladies, attending upon the said Princess, as shall follow next unto the said pillion.

Item, That 5 charres diversely apparrelled for the Ladies and Gentlewomen, be ready the same time at the said Tower, whereof, one of the chief must be richly apparrelled and garnished for the said Princess, and the other four to serve such Ladies as shall be appointed by the Queen's Chamberlain, and that the same follow in such order as the said Chamberlain shall appoint.

Item, That betwixt every of the said charres, there be 5 or 6 palfreys of such Ladies, as shall come to the feast, for the attendance given upon the Queen's Grace.

Item, That the same Chamberlain have also the ordering of the said palfreys, as well as of the charres, and if there fortune any more charres to come than above is assigned, then the same to be ordered by the said Chamberlain.

Item, It is to be remembred, that some wise and expert person or persons be assigned by the King and the Queen for the purveyance of the said litter, palfreys, charres, and the apparels that shall be necessary for the same, and that this be done with all speed, for the case it requireth.

Item, That the Mayor, Citizens and Crafts attend upon the said Princess at the Cross in Cheap, in such manner, and in such solemn pageants and ceremonies as they have devised for the honor of

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the City, and of the feast, whereof my Lord Abergavenny hath the charge.

Item, That the said Princess be conveyed thro' the high streets of London, in such case accustomed, strait to the west door of Paul's, where she shall be received with procession, by the Archbishop of Canterbury in pontificalibus, accompanied with a good number of such Prelates, all likewise in pontificalibus, as he shall call to him: and from the said door, with the choir of the church, processionally to bring her to the high altar, and there to do such ceremonies as in such case is accustomed; and after her offering, to be conveyed to the little door against the consistory that leadeth into the palace, and so forth brought to her chamber within the said palace. And for her long travel and labor, it is thought that she should tarry in the said palace one day, at the least before the day of her marriage, and more as the case shall require, and as it shall please the King.

Item, That her Ladies and Gentlemen be lodged in the Dean's and Canon's lodgings, and other honest houses adjoining to the said palace, by Whiting and Trefry Gentlemen Ushers, by the oversight and ordering of my Lord Chamberlain and Sir Charles Somerset, and that a consideration be had that they be lodged after their honours and degrees.

It is appointed that after the said Princess hath rested her in her chamber by the space of an hour or thereabouts, that then the said Princess in her litter accompanied with the Dutchess, of Norfolk in her litter, and certain other Ladies, some of the Queen's, and some of the said Princess's at the Queen's nomination, and also certain Lords to be appointed by the King for the attendance given upon the Lords of Spain, shall be conveyed by Paul's chain, down Lambert's hill, to the King and the Queen being at Baynard's Castle: and that my Lord of Oxford receive her at her lighting which shall be within the court, and bring her to the

King's great chamber, and my Lord Chamberlain hath the charge of giving advertisement to the Earl of Oxford.

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Item, That Lambert's bill shall be sanded by the Mayor of London against the same time, whereof my Lord Abergavenny shall give him advertisement, and that the Serjeant Porter be warned, that no manner of person enter the gate in charre, neither on horseback, but only the said Princess and such other Nobles and Ladies as shall accompany her: my Lord Chamberlain hath the charge of the execution of this article: and Sir Charles Somerset is to foresee that the King's guard be there well apparelled, ranged, and ordered, at the entry of the said Princess.

Item, Afore the day of the marriage, it is thought that for the more solemnity of the feast, it should be on the Sunday, or some Holiday, and that the said Princess be going out of her chamber towards the church, somewhat before 9 of the clock, whereof my Lord Chamberlain shall advertise the Duchess of Norfolk.

Item, It is ordained that the Bishops of Exeter, Hereford, Bath, Lincoln, Sarum, Chester, Rochester, and Norwich, and the Abbots of Westminster, Bury, St. Albans, Glastonbury, Abingdon, and Reading, all in pontificalibus, give their attendance the day of marriage upon the said Archbishop of Canterbury, executor of the said marriage.

And afore the Princess's coming to the City, it is thought that he should be there four days before the coming of the said Princess to the Tower, and that he should lodge in the Bishop of Sarum's Place, till the night next before the marriage day; and that night, for his more readines for the business of the next day, to lodge in the wardrobe, and the next day to make his entry into the church somewhat before the Princess's coming thither, which entry is devised to be at the south door next westward to our Lady of Grace in the body of the church; and the Princess's household servants to give their attendance and

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convey him to the hault place to be made before the consistory, in the said body of the church, somewhat before her coming thither. Sir Richard Poole hath taken upon him the charge of this article.

Item, The said Princess, accompanied with the greatest estates of the Lords and Ladies, go out of the palace at the great gate, and enter by the West door of the said church, and so go to the said hault place led by my Lord of York; whereof my Lord Chamberlain shall give advertisement, as well to the Lords as to Sir John Risley, for that that toucheth my Lord of York, and the Queen's Chamberlain shall advertise the Ladies.

Item, For the more easy coming of the said Princess, it is devised that barrs shall be made from the said palace gate, unto the said west door of the church, and so from thence to the foot of the gallery, whereof Sir Charles Somerset and Mr. Comptroller hath the charge.

And as for the hault place, it is devised to be set in the nave and body of the church, even annenst the consistory, to the intent that the King and the Queen may secretly go out of the Bishop's palace into the same consistory, whereof Mr. Comptroller and Sir Charles Somerset have the charge.

Item, The fashion of this hault place is devised to be made like unto the hault place at the christening of the King's child, with broad and large greeces and steps, and with a good large space all on high one loft, to the intent that the executor of the office of the marriage, and the minister of the church necessary for to do that act, and the Prince and the Princess may be together, and no more above, in the said space all on high, than be necessary: and the Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates and Officers, may stand lower upon the said steps of the hault place, so as thereby grow no impediment to the sight of the people, and that from the said hault place to the choir door, there be made a stage of five feet high, with a rail upon either side: and Sir Charles Somerset

Somerfet and the Comptroller of the King's house have taken upon them, that the said work shall be made sure and substantial.

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Item, That the trumpets stand aloft over the same west door, and blow continually after the first coming of the said Princess out of the great gate of the said palace, till the time she be in the church upon the halt place, and then forthwith when she shall be there, the trumpets to cease: and the ordering and guiding of the said trumpets and minstrels for the time of the feast, is committed to Thomas Lovell, Yeoman Usher of the King's chamber.

And when the said Prince and Princess shall be on the said halt-place on loft, and the banes asked them, that Mr. Secretary object openly in Latin against the said marriage, that it cannot be lawful, for such reasons as he shall exhibit there, supposed to be grounded on the laws of Christ's Church; whereunto Mr. Dr. Barnes shall reply, and declare solemnly, likewise in Latin, the said marriage to be good and effectual in the law of Christ's Church, by virtue of a dispensation which he shall have there, to be openly read, and thereupon forthwith to deliver it to the Executor Officii, and the same Executor to command his Chancellor to read it; the same objections made, or any other to be made against the same, notwithstanding: and for advertisement of the Archbishop of Canterbury in all such things as shall be executed by him at that solemnity, the King's Secretary hath taken upon him the charge.

And in case it be requisite after the manner of Spain, as it is after the custom of England, that some man shall give the espouse, then the greatest Personage that shall come with the said Princess, shall give her. The charge of this article resteth in my Lord Chamberlain.

Item, When all shall be finished that is to be done on the said halt-place for the matrimony, then shall the Prince and Princess go together upon the said gallery hand in hand, all along the body

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of the said church, strait after hede upon the same gallery strewed with rushes, herbs, and flowers up to the choir, and through the choir to the high altar to their places appointed there: and that the ordering, rushing, and apparrelling of the said gallery, be provided for by Sir Charles Somersset and Mr. Comptroller.

Item, As soon as the Prince and Princess shall begin to depart from the said hault-place, then shall all the minstrels, every man after his faculty, one after another, being all on high in the vaults of the church, do their parts in music continually, as shall come in their course, till the Prince and Princess shall be before the high altar, and then all the minstrels to cease. And the ordering of all the said minstrels is committed to Lovell, Usher of the King's Chamber.

And to the intent that the said Prince and Princess may have always some place secretly to resort unto, for such casualties that may fall during the high mass of the marriage: It is to be foreseen that the Prince shall have a traverse made and set on the north side the choir near the high altar in place convenient, with a running curtain to serve when need shall be: so as the minstrels about the high altar, and those in the vaults, shall not now see what shall be done in the said traverse: and semblably, another traverse to be made likewise, and to be set on the South side of the choir, also in place convenient for the said Princess to resort into, if any occasion so demand. My Lord Chamberlain hath taken upon him the provision and making of these traverses.

Item, As for the carr-cloth, it shall be of white baukin, and provided by my Lord Chamberlain, and by him delivered to the Prince's Chamberlain; and the spices and wines to be provided by my Lord Steward, and delivered to the Prince's Chamberlain and his officers, they to have the ordering of the same; and that the carr-cloth be holden by two Lords to be assigned by my Lord Chamberlain.

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Item, After the solemnity of matrimony shall be fully done, the Prince shall first, and before the Princess, depart with his company, down all along the North side of the church, and make his entry at the door of the palace of the Bishop, that is next unto the said consistory, far within the said palace, at her chamber door to receive the said Princess.

Item, The said Princess, soon after the departing of the said Prince, led by my Lord of York shall return the same way she went, that is to say, through the choir down upon the said gallery, all along the body of the church, out of the great West door of the same, and in at the great gate of the Bishop's palace, and so to her chamber, where, at the door thereof, the Prince shall receive her, as the custom of England is.

Item, That first, the minstrels, and after, the trumpets, every man after his course and faculty, do their parts when the Princess shall return towards the palace of the Bishop, as they did at her going from the same.

Item, It is thought good, that, somewhat beside the great West door of the church, in the South side thereof, there shall be a solemn conduit, well and pompously devised for to run divers sorts of good wines, and the said conduit to begin to run as soon as the Princess shall be entered into the said palace, and so to run continually all that day, and part of the pipes to run till midnight following: whereof Sir Charles Somersfet and Mr. Comptroller hath the charge.

Item, It is thought convenient, that such head officers as shall have charge of the feast, the day of the said marriage, do provide amongst other things, that the hall of the Bishop of London's palace as well in the of the boards, tables, and forms thereof, and in hanging of the house, as in making of cupboards, as well in the chamber where the said Princess shall dine, as also in the hall, and otherwise, thought necessary, be well and honourably garnished and dressed, so as it shall be best devised for the honour of

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of the said feast: the charge of the execution of this article is committed to Worley, to be done by the advice of Sir Charles Somerset and Mr. Comptroller.

Item, After the feast, that matter is remitted unto the Steward, Comptroller and the head officers of the King's most honourable Household, and the Cofferer to see for the payment thereof.

Item, The third day after the day of marriage, the said Prince and Princess to depart from the said palace, towards Baynard's castle, to go to Westminster with the King's Grace; and that the said Princess so departing, shall ride in her litter, or on her spare horse, with the pillion, behind a Lord to be named by the King, and eleven Ladies upon palfreys after her; and that certain convenient number of the said Lords and Nobles be named, and warned by my Lord Chamberlain, then also to await on her on horseback, with the same number of their servants with them on foot, that they had betwixt the Tower and the church of St. Paul's, keeping company with the Lords of Spain, as they did before accompany the said Princess to Baynard's castle, where the King and the Queen shall be: and so forth to go with the King by water to Westminster: and for this to be well done, two things are behoveful, the one is, that the streets from Paul's chain down Lambert's hill, between the Earl of Derby's Place on the one side, and the Under Treasurer's lodging, to the said Baynard's castle, be well gravelled, and substantially cast with sand, by the Mayor of London, for the horses more surety to keep themselves upright in the great descent of the hill aforesaid: the other is, that the said Princess dislodge the said third day, from the Bishop's palace at such good hour, as she may come to the King and Queen, to depart, if the King so be pleased, the same day at time convenient from the said Baynard's castle, to the King's palace of Westminster: the care of the ordering of such things comprised in this article, my Lord Chamberlain hath taken the charge.

Item,

Item, That the great bridge at Westminster be amended by the Treasurer of England, and the King's arms be renewed and new painted, whereof he shall have warning by Mr. Comptroller.

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Item, The floor of Westminster-hall be also new repaired, and the windows of the same glazed; whereof Mr. Comptroller and Worley have the charge.

Item, That the Woolbridge at the same Westminster be also new repaired at the King's cost, the charge whereof is committed to Mr. Comptroller and Worley.

Item, That all the gates and doors be shut, so that there be none enter except only through the great hall of Westminster and the White hall.

Item, For the more royalty of the going of the King and the Queen, of the Prince and of the said Princess, unto Westminster by water, it is accorded that the King and Queen and Prince have their barges apart, well and pompously rigged and dressed; for the King's barges, the Lord Chamberlain hath the charge; and for the Queen's, and Prince's, the Chamberlain of both the Queen and Prince have charge.

Item, That, likewise, all the Lords spiritual and temporal that have given their attendance at the feast, accompany the King in their barges and great boats to the said Westminster; and as for the said Princess, it is thought that she should be with the Queen's Grace in her barge. The Lord Chamberlain hath the charge to advertise the Lords of the premises, and the Queen's Chamberlain to provide for the Princess's conveyance with the Queen.

Item, Besides this provision, that the King's great and little boats be purposely prepared and kept for such strangers as shall come with the said Princess, whereof my Lord Chamberlain hath taken charge.

Item, When all these barges and boats of the Lords spiritual and temporal, shall be thus appointed and ready upon the Thames, to set forward towards Westminster, then the said Lords spiritual and

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temporal

Item,

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temporal shall attend, every man in his barge, or boat, in the river, upon the King's barge, and when the King in his barge shall set forth from the said Baynard's castle, then all the other barges and boats, to row by the King, after the King, and about the King, as the space of the river with the ebbe or flow, and good order, shall lead them, till the time his Grace shall be landed at the great bridge of Westminster; and that the Queen's Grace and all the Ladies and certain Lords, to be appointed by the King's Grace to attend upon her, follow the company of the King: and when she shall come to the great bridge at Westminster, that then she, her Ladies and Lords attending upon her, pause and rest in their barges till such time that the King with his company be landed and entered into the palace. The charge of the ordering and appointing of the Lords to give attendance upon the King's Grace and the Queen, in their barges, is committed to the Lord Chamberlain; and for the ordering of the Queen, with the appointing of the Ladies to give attendance upon her Grace, the charge is committed to the Queen's Chamberlain.

And for jousts, tourneys, and other ceremonies, they be remitted to the said Mr. Comptroller, serjeant of the King's armoury: and as for provision of the scaffolds, and all other things belonging to the said jousts, Mr. Comptroller and Worley have taken upon them the charge.

Item, It is ordained, that the morrow after the King's coming to Westminster at afternoon, in the evening, the King shall make the Knights of the Bath, and the day next ensuing shall begin the tourneys and jousts to endure at the King's pleasure.

Item, It is thought fitting and honourable, that every Lord spiritual and temporal that shall give their attendance at the time, keep his house during the said feast, and till the King depart from Westminster.

Item, That my Lord Chamberlain send certain of the Ushers of the King's chamber, to take up Heron's house within the sanctuary, and

HENRY
VII.

and to search all the lodgings that be within the Abbey and the Chanon Row, and cause the owners of them to dress and furnish them with stuff, and to make their report of every of the same by writing.

Item, My Lord Steward and Mr. Comptroller, to cause six of the best furnished lodgings of the Sanctuary, and the town of Westminster, to be reserved and kept for strangers.

Item, That Mr. Robert Southwell, and Sir William Pampage, shall have either of them a whole copy of this book, to the intent they may often oversee and perfectly peruse the same, and not only to advertise every man that hath any charge committed to him to be ready, and to do their offices, but also to call upon them for the execution of the same.

Item, That Jaques Hault, and William Pawne, be appointed to devise and prepare disguisings and some morisques, after the best manner they can, whereof they shall have warning by my Lord Chamberlain.

Item, Whereas my Lord Steward is now sick, if it fortune that he continue in his sickness so long, that he shall not now attend to such charges as be committed to him by divers articles of this book, Mr. Comptroller hath taken upon him to do, perform, and execute all the said charges by the said articles appointed to my said Lord Steward, and in manner and form as my Lord should have done, if he had not been letted by his said sickness, foreseeing always there be some noble Personage appointed to occupy the place and room of the said Lord Steward, touching the receiving and conducting the Princess, which Personage is thought should be my Lord of Surrey.

Item, The Bishop of Durham hath taken upon him to make an abstract out of this present book, of every man's charge, as it is comprised in the same, and the same abstract divided into several

HENRY
VII.

articles as the matter toucheth every man apart, to deliver in writing to Mr. Secretary, which shall inclose the said articles severally in as many letters as there shall be articles, and the same direct and cause to be sent to such persons, as be named in the heads of the said articles, desiring them by the same letters, to do and perform for their parts as is expressed in the same articles.

No. II.

*Original Letter of Thomas Leigh (one of the Visitors of
the Monasteries) to Thomas Crumwell, Lord Privy
Seal. Dated from the Monastery of Vale Royal, the
22d of August, 1536.*

HENRY
VIII.
Harleian
Library,
604.

[This is a curious but authentic picture of Country Manners about the time of the Reformation: It is no wonder that Visitors, making such reports, were unpopular.]

IN my most humble manner I commend me unto your good Lordship, evermore thanking you of your munificency, and great goodness, at all times shewed unto me. Advertising your Lordship, that whereas I have hitherto, according to your commandment, visited the archdeaconries of Coventry, Stafford, Derby, and part of Cheshire; for that I can perceive accordingly, as I heretofore have written unto you, there laketh nothing but good and godly instruction of the rude and poor people, and reformation of the heads, in these parts. For certain of the knights and gentlemen, and most commonly all, liveth so incontinently, having their concubines openly in their houses, with five or six of their children, and putting from them their wives, that all the country therewith be not a little offended, and taketh evil example of them. Wherefore hitherto I have given and sent commandment to them (forasmuch as I could not speak with them all, by reason they were at the assizes), to put from them immediately such concubines, as they have hitherto notoriously and manifestly occupied and kept, and to take
again

HENRY
VIII.

again their wives; or else to appear before your Lordship, to shew a cause why they should not be compelled; and if your Lordship will command any other thing to be done in the premises, I shall be ready to accomplish the same. And seeing my Lord of Norfolk is come to the court, I shall most humbly desire you to have me in remembrance. And thus God preserve you, and have you in his most firm tuition, with much increase of honour, according to the contentation of your Lordship's most noble good heart's desire.

From the monastery of Vale Royal, the 22d of August.

Your Lordship's humble at
commandment,

THOMAS LEIGH.

No. III.

*The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis
of Exeter, and Sir Anthony Brown, Knight. Instruc-
tions for the levying Men to go against the Rebels in the
North, 1536.*

HENRY
VIII.
Harleian
Collection,
No. 6989.

[This formidable Rebellion is not very fully related by our Historians. and still less the Intrigues which produced it; had more of the Nobility and Men of Property joined in it, the Throne of Henry VIII. and his Church Establishments would have been shaken, if not overturned.]

October 19th, 1536.

AFTER our right hearty commendations, These shall be to advertise you, that this morning arrived here a post with the letters herein inclosed, directed to you my Lord Norfolk, and others to the K. Highness, the copy also whereof you shall receive herewith, which was commanded, as by the said letters you shall perceive, to have first passed by you, and so after to have come hither. For answer to the contents of which letters, the King's Majesty hath commanded us to signify unto you, that first his pleasure is, you shall, with all possible diligence. send unto my Lord Suffolk all such munitions as in his letters to you my Lord of Norfolk be contained. Second, that you Sir Anthony Brown, shall with your

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number of 560 men, in his Grace's last letters mentioned, and with 440 men on horseback more, to make up a full thousand, if they may possibly be there gathered, advance speedily to my Lord of Suffolk, taking also with you the ten pieces of ordnance that were before appointed unto you, with powder, shot, and all things convenient for the same. And if the said 440 men, to make up the full thousand men on horseback, or within an hundred at the uttermost of the same, cannot be there levied, then his honour's pleasure is, that you shall take the 560 men on horseback before prepared, and with them also 1000 footmen, or very near that number, to be in like manner conveyed with you, or after you, to my said Lord of Suffolk with all possible diligence. And his Grace's instant desire is, that you my Lord of Norfolk and Exeter, shall, with the band of 5000 men in all, limited unto you, make your address with the like speed to my * Lord Steward. And that you shall take certain order, that the posts may be laid surely for the speedy conveyance of letters, both between Lincoln and Windfor, and between the places where you shall fortune to be, and the same. Finally you shall understand, the King's Highness hath at the writing hereof presently dispatched to Mr. Cofferer by Dr. Leighe †, and Dr. Leighton †, for your good furniture, now at your setting forth, and in your journey towards my Lord Steward, the sum of two thousand pounds, having also appointed, that a special and certain Treasurer shall, for the said journey only, with the same wait upon you. And therefore his Grace desireth you to fear no want of money; for this day there

* The Earl of Shrewsbury, who was the King's Lieutenant against the rebels in Yorkshire.

† These by the Lord Cromwell's means had lately been sent abroad by commission from the King, to visit the abbeyes, and to take account of the enormities there committed. And there is a letter wrote by one of them, viz. Leighton, to Cromwell, con-

cerning the nuns and friars of Sion, extant in Fuller's Church History. In the dissolution of the abbies, these men had the finger-ing of the revenues thereof for the King's use, which made them so odious, that these rebels among their demands at Doncaster made this, that Leigh and Leighton should be imprisoned for bribery and extortion.

is also dispatched to Mr. Gostyck above ten thousand marks, and more shall come after. And besides, if any bruit or noise shall be of any want of money, it might greatly discourage men, and so hinder much the King's affairs at this time, which by all means would be set forth and advanced. And thus most heartily fare you well.

HENRY
VIII.

From Windsor the 19th of October.

Your loving friends,

THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor.

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

ROBERT SUSSEX.

EDWARD HEREFORDE.

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquis of Exeter, being in their march towards Doncaster against the Rebels. Anno 1536.

1536.
October 20.

AFTER our right hearty commendations. Forasmuch as by letters sent from my Lord Steward, and my Lord of Suffolk, with others to the King's Highness, it appeareth, the number of rebels groweth and increaseth daily; his Grace's pleasure is, that for the better furniture of your forces, as well you, my Lord of Norfolk, shall take with you the rest of your band, over and above the number appointed, which you wrote was 1500 men or thereabouts: as that you, my Lord Marquis, shall seemably take all the rest of your band, over and above the number agreed upon with you, if you shall together think it so expedient; hasting yourselves to my Lord Steward with all possible diligence. Adverting you furthermore, that for the more perfect keeping of Lincolnshire quiet,

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quiet,

HENRY
VIII.

quiet, his Grace hath commanded my Lord Chamberlain (Lord Sands) Mr. Poulet, and Mr. Kingston, with the residue of the Gloucestershire men, not being of the thousand going with you, and others to furnish on horseback, and on foot, if they can there at Ampthill levy so many good men, and the number of 2000 persons, and the same with speed to send to my Lord of Suffolk; signifying further unto you, that because this matter seemeth to be so hot and dangerous, his Grace desireth you, my Lord of Norfolk, to advertise him by this bearer, whether you shall think it expedient, that his Grace should levy an army to attend upon his person, and so advance towards the said rebels; and what you think else expedient to be considered touching the same. And to this said bearer to give firm credence, for his Highness hath declared his full mind and pleasure in that behalf. And thus most heartily fare you well; the 20th day of October, 1536.

THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor.

JOHN OXYNFORD.

EDWARD HEREFORDE.

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

ROBERT SUSSEX.

RICHARD CICESTER.

Endorfed thus, *In secundo exitu versus Doncastr* *.

* For the rebels had already taken Hull divided into three bodies. And hither the Duke was now hastening to meet and fight them. and Pomfret, and were advanced southward before Doncaster, 30,000 strong, lying there.

HENRY
VIII.1536.
Decem. 2.

The Privy Council to the Duke. Instructions about dealing with the Rebels, and offering them Pardon. Anno 1536.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your Grace. The same shall herewith receive the double of a letter sent to the King's Highness from my Lord of Suffolk, upon the arrival with him of a servant of Sir William Musgrave's; by the contents thereof, with the credence of the said Musgrave's servant, it appeareth, that Tyndesdale, and Riddesdale be of a good sort, and have rather done displeasure to the rebels, than showed themselves any thing toward to condescend to their traiterous faction. And that the parties of Cumberland and Westmoreland be not of so evil disposition as hath been supposed. And further, the said Musgrave's servant hath declared to the King's Highness, that the Lord Clifford, the said Sir William Musgrave, Aygleby and others do keep peaceably the town and castle of * Carlisle, with the parts about the same: and that Sir William Musgrave has been with the Earl of Cumberland at Skipton †, and found him so victualled and furnished in every condition, that he esteemeth not much the malice of his enemies. Which things weighed and considered, his Majesty thinketh, if you shall for the first brunt fortify the passages of Doonne with ditches, according to his device, the Yorkshire men, and those that shall take their parts, will be, within short space, easy enough to deal withal.

* But soon after it was besieged by one Nich. Musgrave and 8000 men. But they were repulsed by the city. And in their return encountered by the Duke, who caused all the Captains (except Musgrave who escaped), and seventy persons besides, by martial law to be hanged on Carlisle walls.

† Skipton was a castle belonging to the Earl, which the rebels, in October, had attempted, and he resolutely defended against them; though 500 gentlemen retained at his cost, had deserted him.

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VIII.

For being the parties before rehearsed brought to some stay, wherein his Grace will travail, my Lord of Suffolk, with the Lincolnshire men of the one side, you, my Lord Steward, my Lord of Rutland, my Lord of Huntingdon, and others there, with the forces of those parts, on the other side, and my * Lord of Derby on the third part, with such preparation as his Grace can shortly make, shall be able enough to constrain the rebels to such conformity and obedience, as appertaineth.

Wherefore his Majesty desireth you, considering it should not be honourable for him to grant the free pardon, but a mean to encourage the offenders, and others also, to the enterprising of like attempts, to use all the dexterity to you possible, to induce them to receive the first † pardon, and to stay with them long, before you shall proceed to the other degree, which his Highness would by no means come unto, if sudden extremity shall not enforce the same. And, good my Lord, use in this matter all your wisdom, to satisfy his Grace's princely courage and desire. For it is much to his Grace's regret to receive from you so many desperate letters, and in the same to hear no mention of the remedies. Inasmuch as his Grace making a discourse of the whole progress of the matter, upon the letters written lately, that he should be deceived if he trusted to the passages, said, those words agreed but shrewdly with the letters written unto him from Cambridge, wherein you desired so much that my Lord Steward should not have passed Trent, before your coming to him, as though you had known the country and rivers so well, that you had been then able at your will, in manner to have put the rebels to discomfiture. Which matter not succeeding according to

* This Earl had raised forces out of Lancashire and Cheshire, to stop another army of rebels, that were coming southward through Lancashire, to join those that were up in Yorkshire.

† Wherein ten were excepted, six named,

and four unnamed, but the four unnamed concerning every body, it was declined. The free pardon was without any exception at all, on condition they would lay down their arms, and make their submission to the King's Lieutenants.

your

your desire, you did after much lament. And yet his Highness HENRY
VIII. said, that unless my Lord Steward had indeed marched forward contrary to your mind, there had been more lost, than percase would have been recovered again in a good time, besides the dishonour that should have ensued of the same. Surely his Highness is your good and gracious Lord; and therefore we all beseech you eftsoons now to show all your wisdom to conduce these things to that end, that may be to his Grace's satisfaction: for we assure you, his Highness thinketh his honour shall be much touched, if he shall grant them the free pardon.

Your Grace shall herewith receive letters from the King's Highness privately written to yourself; but we assure your Grace, whatsoever is contained in the same, his Majesty is as good and gracious Lord unto you, as ever he was in his life; and we all be your assured friends, desiring as much that success in this matter, that may be to your honour, as yourself can desire the same, which we shall also advance to our possible powers; knowing right well, that whatsoever is written touching the stay for the free pardon, you will no further strain them to take the first pardon, than your wisdom shall think meet for the quieting of the matter, which is most to be regarded. And thus we beseech our Lord, send your Grace no worse to fare than we would ourselves. From Richmond the second of December. Your assured loving friends,

THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor.

JOHN OXYNFORD.

ROBERT SUSSEX.

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

RICHARD CICESTER.

WILLIAM POULET.

Endorsed at Hatfield. From the King's Council, 4th December.

your

HENRY
VIII.1536.
Decem. 6.*The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk.*

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your Grace. These shall be to advertise you, that yesternight about six of the clock we received your letters written from Welbeck on Saturday, upon certain others from us, before to you addressed, touching our hope that the King's Majesty would condescend to your desires * made by Sir John Russel, rather than the matter should grow to a further extremity. The contents of which letters, when we had perused, we signified to his Highness, being the same, both to his Grace, and all us, very pleasant and comfortable; as well for that we perceive thereby the good inclination and loyal disposition of the Gentlemen, with your certain intelligence † with the same, as for that the said Gentlemen being so well disposed, it is not to be doubted, but though the cankered Commons would attempt any further enterprizes, the said Gentlemen and their servants and friends, with your advice and counsel, and the aid of such force as you have, and may easily prepare there, shall be able to stay their fury and traiterous madness. And his Majesty giveth unto your Grace and your colleagues ‡ there, his most hearty thanks, that by your wif-

* Viz. That the King would yield to a general pardon, and a Parliament to be held in those parts, which were some of the things the rebels required: and which being granted, he thought it might be a means to quiet all. This the Duke desired, that he might be in a better readines for the treaty, which was to be by the King's allowance on the 6th of December between the Duke and the Earl of Shrewsbury on the King's part, and 300 of the rebels at Doncaster. Which request the King granted, leaving the whole to the Duke's discretion.

† For the rebels had compelled all the nobility and gentry they could get into their hands, to go with them, making them swear to an oath they administered to them; and some did willingly join with them. With some of these the Duke held a secret correspondence, of which he made good use. Among these were the Lord Scroop, the Lord Lumley, Lord Latimer, &c.

‡ Earl Shrewsbury, Marquis of Exeter, Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland, &c.

doms

HENRY
VIII.

doms you have conduced this great matter to so good a towardness of the clear finishing of the same. And whereas your Grace's opinion is, that growing to an end with the rebels at this meeting, it should be meet you should forthwith enter into the country, and so swear the same from place to place, as you should travel, and that you should in that case be furnished with some good company of nobles and gentlemen, as well for the better advancement and showing of the King's honour, and for your surety in all events and chances; which noblemen and gentlemen would look for their costs paid in that journey. His Grace doth right well allow and approve your device therein. Nevertheless his desire is, that you should first signify unto him, what noblemen and gentlemen, and what the gross number of all the train, should be, that you would have with you. And thereupon his Highness will send you your commission, and take such further order for the entertainment of you and your train, that you shall have cause to be contented. Trusting that you will, in the advertisement hereof, consider the great charges his Majesty hath been at, and devise for the alleviation of the same, as much as you can possible. And upon that advertisement, his Highness will also write to the Earl of Northumberland * for his coming hither, if nothing chance unto him in the mean season; not doubting but your Grace will have such respect unto his brethren, that they shall not be able to do any displeasure, though they would maliciously practise any evil purpose.

Now there resteth but only one thing to be considered, which the King's Majesty hath much at heart, and we shall no less desire, that is, the preservation of his Grace's honour, which his Highness and we all think, shall be much touched, if there be no man reserved to punishment, for the example of others hereafter. Wherefore albeit the King's Majesty hath referred all to your discretion, yet if your

* Who had been Lord Warden of the Marches, but lately suspected and discharged, and now about to be sent up.

†

Grace

doms

HENRY
VIII.

Grace could, by any good means, or possible dexterity, reserve a very few persons to punishment, you should assuredly administer the greatest pleasure to his Highness that could be imagined, and much in the same advance your own honour. And amongst a few vile persons, because he is notable and most wilful, if you could reserve * Sir Robert Constable, we be not able to express how much the same would tend to his Majesty's satisfaction. Wherein we shall not need to desire your Grace to travail, knowing that you will leave no means unattempted, that your wisdom shall think may accomplish his Highness most fervent desires in that behalf, only grounded upon the preservation of his honour, which, without the same, he thinketh, and so do we also, shall be much touched.

We send unto your Grace also, certain of the † letters addressed to the Bishops, with divers copies of the ‡ articles agreed upon by the clergy: and for the more plain declaration to the people of the truth of the same, you shall receive one copy, whereunto the Bishops and Clergy did at the beginning set their hands, which we require you to reserve for his Highness. And thus most heartily fare you well. From Richmond the 4th of December. Your assured friends,

THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor.

ROBERT SUSSEX.

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

EDWARD HEREFORD.

WILLIAM POULET.

JOHN OXYNFORD.

RICHARD CICESTER.

WILLIAM KYNGSTON.

Endorsed at || Hatfield from the King's Council, 6th Dec.

* He, upon the rebellion soon after breaking out again, with the Lord Darcy, Sir Thomas Percy, Ark, and divers others, was sent up to London by the Duke, and afterwards executed.

† These letters were, I suppose, certain injunctions, in number eleven, sent under the name of Crumwell, the King's Vicegerent, to be observed by Deans, Parsons, Vicars, Curates, &c. which may be seen in Lord Herbert's life of King Henry, p. 472.

‡ These articles may be read in the same Author, p. 467, 468, which were signed by

Crumwell and eighteen Bishops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty Archdeacons and Proctors of the Clergy at their convocation. Several copies of these articles were sent to the Duke on purpose to be dispersed in those parts, for the better exercise of the studies and thoughts of the clergy, who had been the chief instruments in these commotions.

|| The Duke was now at Hatfield in his return back to the North, whence he had come lately up to Court, upon this occasion. He found the rebels number far to exceed the King's army, which was not above 5000. So to gain

HENRY
VIII.*The Privy Council to the Duke.*1536-7.
February 4.

AFTER our right hearty commendation to your good Lordship. This morning arrived here your letters unto us on Candlemas day, with the copies sent with the same; containing as well your advice and proceeding touching the stay of the retainer of certain persons, whose names you have sent in one of the said copies, as the state of the country there, with certain other things therein contained, which we have showed unto the King's Highness. And albeit his Majesty seemed to approve the plain declaration of your mind in that behalf; yet in the reading of that part of the letter, he said, he somewhat marvelled, that you should be more earnest in the dissuasion of the retainer of them that have been but murderers and thieves (if they have so been), than you were that his Grace should not retain those that have been rebels and traitors. These men have rather done good than hurt, in this troublous time, tho' they did it not with a good mind and intent, but for their own lucre. What the other did, no man can better tell than you. If these men may be made good men, with this advancement, his Highness may think his money well employed. If they will nevertheless continue evil, all the world shall think them the more worthy punishment, for that they have so little regarded the great clemency and goodness of his Majesty, calling them from their evil doings to honest preferment, to the intent they should the

gain time till more forces came in, he put the rebels upon petitioning; which advice they took, and sent up a petition by two gentlemen that they had compelled to yield to them. And the Duke promised to accompany them up to forward their petition; and that brought him into these parts. But he soon returned again to his charge, and was now gotten as far as Hatfield.

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rather

HENRY
VIII.

rather leave and forsake the same. And his Grace may all times punish them according to their demerits, when he shall think meet, if they shall estoons offend. And yet his patents of their annuities be no pardons, nor they by the same changed into another state than they were before. And therefore his Majesty's pleasure was, we should not only signify unto you, that he would have his determinations accomplished in that behalf, but also, that with all possible speed after the receipt hereof, you shall write to Sir Anthony Browne to proceed therein without stay, according to his former commission, any thing by you written to the contrary notwithstanding; as by the copy of the letters sent to the said Sir Anthony, which you shall receive herewith, you shall perceive. And thus most heartily fare you well. From Greenwich, the 4th of February.

THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor.

ROBERT SUSSEX.

RICHARD CICESTER.

CHARLES SUFFOLK.

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

EDWARD HEREFORD.

WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS.

WILLIAM POULET.

J. RUSSEL.

HENRY
VIII.1536-7.
February 4.*The Privy Council to the Duke.*

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, these shall be to advertise the same, that by this bearer you shall receive the King's Highness's letters, which his Grace doubteth not but you will put in execution with such dexterity as the same may be a spectacle of the end of such abominable treasons; and a mean to reduce that country to a perfect quietness. You shall also understand that since your departure, the King's Majesty hath received sundry letters from my Lord of Winchester and Master Wallop, declaring as well a general communication had between the French King and them, of the matter of my Lady * Mary, which yet remaineth in the same terms you left it, as an heap of lies which have been spread abroad there, touching our state, and the late business here. Whereunto, when answer was made, the Ambassador of France here resident, made request for access to the King's presence, and obtaining the same, on the French King's behalf, required his Grace's favourable licence for the young † Queen of Scots' passage through his realm into Scotland; presenting therewith a letter from the Great ‡ Master, importing that the King of Scots would be content to do the same. The strangeness of the demand whereof, being fo

* A proposal was made by Pomeray, the French King's ambassador, for a match between the French King's son, the Duke of Orleans, and the Lady Mary the King's daughter. But that Ambassador did little in the affair. Yet it seems Winchester and Wallop, the King's Ambassadors with the French King, had communicated with him concerning it.

† King Francis of France had lately bestowed his daughter Magdalen upon the Scots King, which King Henry took very ill; because he saw hereby that King designed a more strict friendship with the Scots, which the English King was very jealous of, and therefore made a boggle of letting her pass through his kingdom.

‡ Duke Montmorency.

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divided into parts, and commenced in the name of the French King and the Great Master, and nothing at all at the intercession, or in the name of the King of Scots, moved the King's Majesty to stay in his answer. And we upon consultation thereupon had, as yet think it in no wise to be granted, for many great respects, besides the manner of request *. Nevertheless, as we shall therein conclude, we shall from time to time, of that, and such other occurrents as be here, advertise you. Requiring you by your next letters to signify your opinion and good advice unto us, touching this matter, with such reasons as, on either part, shall move you in the same. And thus most heartily fare you well. From Greenwich, the 4th of February.

Your assured Friends,

CHARLES SUFFOLK.

HE. EXETER.

RICHARD CICESTER.

ROBERT SUSSEX.

WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS.

THOMAS CRUMWELL.

EDWARD HEREFORD.

WILLIAM POULET.

Endorsed, *Rec. Feb. 9. Ebor. a Regis Consilio.*

* I believe this request was denied. For Queen came together by sea to Edinburgh
I find the King of Scots and his new-married about Whitfuntide.

HENRY
VIII.1536-7.
February 25.*The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk.*

AFTER our hearty commendations to your Lordship. Whereas the King's Majesty, having established an order upon his Grace's east and middle marches, as by the device thereof, which we sent unto you, the same hath perceived, doth intend to frame a like order for his west marches. Albeit, there hath been a semblable device made for such officers and pensioners as shall be retained upon the same, the copy whereof we send unto you herewith; yet knowing as well your great experience in those parts, as considering that it shall be meet your Lordship should have the direction of it, we have suspended the giving of our sentences to the device, which, as is afore said, you shall receive thereof, with these our letters, till we shall from you hear again, how you like the same. Requiring you therefore to weigh and consider it with your accustomed wisdom, and to signify your opinion therein unto us, with as much speed as you may conveniently; to the intent the King's Highness may thereupon finish his purpose therein, as shall appertain, and be most for his Grace's honour and surety. And surely we be all as glad of your prosperous proceedings in the reducing of that country to good quiet and obedience, and that it hath pleased God to preserve you in health to the same, notwithstanding the fear you were in of sickness, as any man may be, or as your own noble heart could desire. And thus most heartily fare you well. From Westminster this 25th of February.

Your Lordship's assured Friends,

THOMAS CRUMWELL, &c.

* * We require your Lordship to keep this matter to yourself.

Endorsed, *Newcastle, ultimo Feb. a Regio Concilia.* With the device for the West Marches made by the King's Highness.

HENRY
VIII.1536-7.
March 3.*The Privy Council to the Duke.*

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your Lordship. These shall be to advertise the same, that forasmuch as the King's Majesty hath lately addressed his letters to Sir Robert Constable for his repair unto his presence, the bearer whereof found him removed to which is thirty miles from the place where he commonly lieth; and that, upon the delivery of the said letters, he neither used any reverend behaviour, nor made any such convenable answer for his access, as might have any thing tended to his Grace's satisfaction: his Majesty, considering that the said Sir Robert Constable could, either for his commodity, or for his further intent and purpose, remove to a place so far distant from his habitation and common dwelling-place, standing the same also upon the sea-side: and on the other side, that he could, neither in respect of his duty towards his Highness, nor in respect of his late offences, make any seemly answer, or of that behaviour in the receipt of the said letters, and that appertained, and conceiving some marvel thereof; hath commanded us to signify unto you, that his pleasure is, you shall not only have a special eye upon him, but also that you shall of yourself advise him in such wise as you shall think most convenient, with acceleration to make his repair hither. Which, by all likelihood, he may easily do, in accomplishment of his duty, which for his pleasure could remove thirty miles. And if he shall not thereupon address himself hitherwards with diligence, then his Grace's pleasure is, you shall cause him to be sent up with a serjeant at arms, and with further assurance, if you shall so think meet. And also his Highness would, that you shall secretly make Sir Ralph Merker the younger, and Sir Ralph Evers, privy to this matter,

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commanding them to take such order in the ports of Hull and Scarborough, and the creeks thereunto belonging, that in case he would steal into any outward parts, he may be apprehended, and so conveyed up unto his Grace in convenient surety, with all diligence. Finally you shall understand, that his Majesty taketh all your proceedings there in good part, and doth in every condition as thankfully accept the same, as your own heart could desire. Which we affirm unto you upon our honesties, because you shall not doubt in the same. And so most heartily fare you well. From Westminster the 3d of March.

HENRY.
VIII.

Your Lordship's loving Friends,

THOMAS CRUMWELL, &c.

Endorsed, *Newcastle, 6th March. A Regio Consilia.*

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk.

1556-7.
March 12.

AFTER our hearty commendations to your good Lordship. We have received your letters of the 7th of this month. And forasmuch as the King's Majesty hath made answer to the greater part of the principal points contained in the same, we shall not trouble your Lordship with the repetition thereof; only we shall, at some length, signify our minds frankly unto you, touching the matter of the direction of the Borders: wherein you have written your opinion upon our letters, for that purpose before addressed to you.

You write, that you, and other the wise men of those parts, think, that such a multitude of wild folks as be upon those borders, shall not be contained in such order as were to be wished, by so mean men as should have the direction of the same. But that for that respect,

HENRY
VIII.

respect, it should be meet some man of great nobility should have the rule thereof.

First, my Lord, we have learned by experience, that when the Earl of Northumberland was for sundry respects removed from the office of the Wardenry of the East and Middle Marches, being the same offered in manner to two Noblemen that were thought meet to receive it, they did both, as they might, refuse it. So that for those parts, the King's Majesty was enforced, in a manner, to take such to serve him therein, as he might, when those to whom he minded it, were not willing to receive it. And thereupon a device was made, which you seemed much to approve, saving for a few persons whose offences and conversation was such, as you thought them not meet in any wise to be advanced. Second, We have by experience seen, that the King hath been much the worse served upon the West Marches, by the reason of controversy and variance depending between the great men, that lie upon the same. And if the King's Majesty should remove the Earl of Cumberland, and estoons prefer into the room of his Warden there, the Lord Dacres, we see not but the pique between them should be rather augmented than taken away. Again, if it shall please his Majesty to appoint the meanest man that for such a purpose could be thought on, to rule and govern in that place, is not his Grace's authority sufficient to cause all men to serve his Grace under him, without respect of the mere estate of the personage not having that authority?

We desire to know the names, with the reasons of those wise men that think his Grace shall not be served there with such men, whatsoever they be, as he shall appoint to have authority under him. How his Highness hath been served with those such as have had that room, what by want of good qualities meet to supply the places that some of them were in, and what by reason of their discords, we all know. And to be short with your Lordship, we think, that his Majesty, retaining all the Gentlemen and head-men, as he doth,

shall not be evil served. At the least we think it shall not be evil, that his Majesty shall essay this way, and it were but only to see who would not as gladly serve him under another, as he would do, if he had the best place himself. For it importeth no necessity of continuance, but as his Majesty shall think, with the proof thereof, expedient. And thus most heartily fare you well. From Westminster the 12th of March.

HENRY
VIII.

Your Lordship's loving Friends,

T. CANTUARIEN.

THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor, &c. &c.

The Privy Council to the Duke.

1536.
March 17.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship. These shall be to advertise the same, that debating the effect of your letters of the 12th of this month addressed to me the Lord Privy Seal, with the King's Highness; his Grace amongst other things said, he marvelled much, that you and the rest of his council seemed so certainly to resolve, that his Majesty could not be served upon his marches, but by Noblemen. When I would (quoth his Highness) have preferred to the Wardenry of the East and Middle Marches my Lord of Westmoreland, like as he did utterly refuse it, so my Lord of Norfolk noted him a man of such heat and hastiness of nature, that he could not think him meet for it. When he would (quoth his Grace) have conferred it to my Lord of Rutland, he refused it also; and my Lord of Norfolk noted him a man of too much pusillanimity, to have done us good service in it, if he would have embraced an overture in it. And we think (quoth his High-

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ness) he would not advise us to continue in it my Lord of Northumberland. Now if we shall prefer none of these three to that room, we would be glad (quoth his Grace) that my Lord of Norfolk should name the Nobleman that he thinketh meet for that office. For gladly we would have such a one in store to appoint it unto, if we should hereafter alter our device, which we be not yet determined to do, nor shall apply to that sentence, till we have better experiment what should enforce us unto.

Now touching the West Marches, my Lord of Norfolk himself (quoth his Grace) thought it not meet that the Earl of Cumberland should be avoided out of the Wardenry thereof, and the Lord Dacres estfoons thereunto preferred. For it should but engender mortal feud between their houses. Again, we think, (quoth his Majesty) that it were unseemingly to remove him, that hath so well preserved himself from our rebels in this troublous time, and hath so well kept our town and castle of Carlisle, and in his place to put him, that hath been taken as his enemy. If then having determined, for the withdrawing of heart-burning from them both, to remove them both from that office, which in either of their hands could have been no mean of amity between them, we would for those Marches also have my Lord of Norfolk name unto us a third Nobleman, not meddling with any before named. Which communication we thought convenient to signify to your Lordship, that you may perpend it accordingly. Not doubting but that your wisdom shall the better perceive, that, like as his Grace could not be furnished with any of these men conveniently before named, for the respects specified, so his Highness thinketh there will no man refuse, or be slack to serve immediately under him, that could be content to serve under a Nobleman and his deputies, being all but subjects. And this we write only unto you, to the intent your Lordship may perceive the whole discourse of the said conference and communication, and for no purpose of ourself, either utterly to impugn your opinion, though
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the contrary by experience may prove right well, or to pique you therein, which, in the utterance thereof, the King's Majesty nothing minded. And so most heartily fare you well. From Westminster the 17th of March.

HENRY
VIII.

Your loving Friends,

THOMAS CRUMWELL, &c.

Endorsed, *Holden, 20th March. A Consilio Regis.*

The Privy Council to the Duke.

1537.
April 7.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your Lordship.

Forasmuch as not only upon the matter of William Levenyngs, being with the Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, and Robert Ask, after his attemptate in the new rebellion, which you signified to me the Lord Crumwell, Privy Seal; but also upon the examination and knowledge of sundry other great matters revealed against them, the same Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, and Robert Ask, be this day by the King's Highness's commandment, committed to the Tower of London, there to abide till they may be justified according to the law; his Highness's pleasure was, we should thereof advertise your Lordship, to the intent you may divulge the cause of their captivity to the people of those parts, that they may the rather perceive their miserable fortunes, that being once so graciously pardoned, would estsoons combine themselves for the attempting of new treasons, to the great peril of his Grace's person, and the danger of his whole realm: which thing his Grace doth also desire your Lordship to cause to be published by others, in all parts there, with such dexterity, as his subjects, perceiving the truth thereof, conceive

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not, that any thing is done for their former offences, done before the pardon, which his Grace will in no wise remember or speak of; but for those treasons which they have committed again since, in such detestable sort, as no good subject would not wish their punishment for the same.

And whereas your Lordship hath estoons written to the King's Majesty for your repair hither, we do all require you to think, that in case his Highness will not grant it, the same is not delayed upon any decay of his favour unto you, or for want of good will in any of us to have had you satisfied therein; but upon the necessity of his Grace's last letters unto you specified, and for sundry other respects and causes, the particularities whereof you shall perceive by his Grace's next letters to be addressed unto you. Wherewithal we trust you will repose yourself in that behalf.

And finally you shall understand, that I, the Lord Privy Seal, have sued out your pardon for such money as you have defrayed in the wars, and shall likewise sue out your broad seal thereof, with diligence.

Moreover your Lordship shall understand, that whereas you wrote lately of one Rochester, a monk, who by his letters inclosed in a letter of yours, directed to me, declareth himself to be a rank traitor, the King's Highness's pleasure is, you shall send for him to some such place as you shall think meet, and in case he will abide by his opinion, to cause him to be justified there, and executed according to the laws.

And as concerning Sir Stephen Hamerton and Nicholas Tempest*, whom you write will be ready to come up, upon privy seals to be sent for them; his Grace is content that you shall command them to come up at liberty, if you shall think they will so do, without such fear as should cause them to start. But if you shall have any doubt in them, his Grace requireth you to send them up, according

* Who were both after found guilty of treason, and executed.

to the tenor of the former letters, written for that purpose. And albeit we doubt not, but your Lordship doth think, that we be not so light to send for any men in such sort, as was lately written for Gregory Conyers *, unless there were pregnant matter detected against them; yet the King's Highness, at the contemplation of your letters, is content that you shall suffer the said Conyers to come up at his liberty, if you think he will so do, or else that you shall send him up, as was before prescribed. And to conclude, his Grace doubteth not, but your Lordship will cause this matter of the apprehension of the Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, and Ask, to be set forth in such a general sort, upon their treasons committed since the pardon, as there be no specialty touched or spoken of, till they may be so conveyed in a mass together, as all men may perceive the specialties and effects of the same. And thus most heartily fare you well. From Christ Church † in London, the 7th of April.

HENRY
VIII.

Your Lordship's assured, &c.

Endorsed, *Duresme*, 10 Aprilis. *A Consilio Regio.*

* Who I believe was cleared.

† A monastery within Aldgate, that upon the dissolution, came to Audeley the Lord Chancellor, where he and the Privy Council

now sat, and from him to the Duke of Norfolk, who had married Audeley's daughter and heiress, and so was afterwards called Duke's Place.

HENRY
VIII.1537.
April 8.*The Privy Council to the Duke.*

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship.

By this bearer your servant, the same shall receive the King's Highness's letters, containing his Grace's resolution upon your suit, for access unto his presence, (which we doubt not but your wisdom will take in good part: conforming yourself to that thing that may be most to his contentation, and to the advancement of his affairs) with certain other things in the same letters contained, which we be assured you will see accomplished, as shall appertain. And forasmuch as we did lately write unto you, the King's Highness's resolution touching the borders, with such causes as his Grace did alledge for the same; and that we have received no answer thereunto, his Highness desiring to hear your farther opinion in that matter, which he doubted not, but you have ere this time well digested, and thoroughly debated, hath commanded us by these letters, to require your answer in that behalf, which we desire you we may receive by the next messenger.

And whereas your Lordship doth write, that in case the conscience of such persons, as did acquit Levyning, should be examined, the fear thereof might trouble others in the like case; the King's Majesty considering his treason to be most manifest, apparent and confessed, and that all offenders in that case be principals, and none accessaries, doth think it very necessary, that the means used in that matter may be blotted out, as a thing which may reveal many other matters worthy his Highness's knowledge: and doth therefore desire you not only to signify their names, as was before written unto you, but also to travail all that you can, to beat out the mystery thereof. Wherein we suppose also, you shall do unto his Majesty, high and acceptable service. And because you write, that the conveyance up
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of all the prisoners that be written for, should require a great number of persons for the surety of the same, which should somewhat disfurnish you, his Grace is content you shall cause as many of them to come up at their liberty, by your command, as you think will observe the same: which shall also alleviate the charges his Highness should be at in that journey. And thus most heartily fare you well. From the Rolls *, the 8th of April.

HENRY
VIII.

Your Lordship's assured Friends.

Endorsed, *Duresme*, 11 Aprilis.

* Here the Council sometimes met at the Lord Crumwell's lodgings, who was Master of the Rolls.

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No. IV.

[The two following letters from Roger Ascham, and Sir Richard Moryson, containing some minute particularities of the Emperor Charles V. are thought worthy to be published. Sir Richard Moryson was a good scholar, and we are told, read over Herodotus and Demosthenes in his journey with his Secretary, Roger Ascham, the famous Grammarian, and one of the Revivers of Polite Literature in England.]

Roger Ascham's communication with Monf. D'Arras, at Landau, Oct. 1, 1552. To Sir Richard Moryson.

AFTER your hearty commendations done, according to your instructions, I desired his Lordship in your name, to take in good part, this my coming to the Court, trusting, that he would consider, that the desire of doing your duty to the King's Majesty, did move you to send me to him at this time. For now, when you had learned, that the Ambassador of Portugal was in the Court, and that you were sent from a greater Prince than he was, you trusted his wisdom would consider, that you could not make a good reckoning at home, of your duty abroad, except you might be both in the Court and in the Camp as well as he. Therefore your suit was, that you might also forthwith come thither; for his Lordship might be well assured, that he of Portugal, nor the King his master, could be more glad the one to write, and the other hear, of the Emperor's most prosperous success, in all this journey, than you were, both presently here,

here, and also to write it diligently home; nor no Prince nor country more in daily expectation of the Emperor's Majesty's lucky proceedings, than is the King's Highness our Master, and all his whole realm of England; and here I paused.

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Monf. D'Arras's answer was,—As concerning the Ambaffador of Lusitania (for so he named him always) I pray you desire your Master not to think much, that the Emperor at this time hath given order to the Ambaffador, and to Secretary Grofs, to intreat for the convey of his daughter to her husband, the King of Lusitane's son, which is the only cause of the abode of that Ambaffador in this Court. And so likewise, if your Ambaffador had any matter of intreaty betwixt the two Princes, he may come or send at his pleasure. Likewise I trust he will consider, that it standeth the Emperor much in hand to be well assured that under the pretence of the Ambaffador's retinues, the enemies have not too open means to look into his Majesty's matters and doings. Therefore, except some special matter of the Emperor and the Princes whom they serve, do require otherwise, all Ambaffadors must be content that his Majesty, for his own private affairs, do, as his wisdom shall lead him thereunto. And concerning the King your Master's glad expectation for the prosperous success, his Majesty thereof is most assured. And here the Bishop with a friendly countenance said unto me, ye know these matters do belong not a little to the King your master, for ye are not ignorant how this year the Frenchmen have robbed England above 150,000l.; and beside all old spite of France done unto England, we trust the King's Majesty, his honourable Council, and realm, cannot forget how unjustly not long since the French King hath dealt with him, in his younger years, even when he was troubled with stirs at home, *nec id ratione justii belli, sed potius injusti latrocinii, ut alias consuevit facere*, (these were his words) as the Emperor's Majesty was always England's Friend, as his ancestors have been, and will continue unto his life's end. His words were

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earnestly spoke in these matters, which being too deep for me to wade in, I thought not good to enter into them; but thus much I thought it meet to say, that I knew the King's wisdom and his Council, did so weigh, he his honour, and they the safety of his person and wealth of his realms, as neither wrong would be borne, nor benefits be forgotten, which were done to his Grace and his realm, and so turned to my errand again and said,

Seeing the Emperor's Majesty will not have the Ambassadors with their retinue in his camp, yet because my Master knoweth, that certain agents be suffered to tarry in the Court, at least it might please your Lordship, that John Bernardin the King's Majesty's servant, may attend likewise there, who might without fail there speedily write home, his Majesty's good proceeding in this journey.

His answer was, Indeed certain agents belonging to cities and Princes under his Majesty, as from F. Gonzaga Pietro di Toledo, Piacenza, &c. remain in this Court to serve the Emperor's own purposes for these places, but all other must be content to follow his order; for assure yourself, no agent, secretary, or man of any Ambassador shall be suffered to write or tell out, what is done here, but if they be taken, they must suffer such order as is appointed by the Emperor's Majesty. And John Bernardin less than any other. For when I was on the other side of the Roan, Bernardin came unto me, as he said, to take his leave of me, for on the next morrow he would take his journey into England, saying he could not agree with my Lord Ambassador, purposing, belike, *hoc sermone me capere*, which thing I was not content to hear, but so dismissed him. And surely if he come any more to this Court, *jubebo illum apprehendi et comprehendere vinculis*, and I pray you tell him so for me, if it be your chance to see him hereafter. And I pray you commend me heartily to my Lord Ambassador, and tell him, he shall, of all Ambassadors, be the first certified of our affairs, and in his private matters he must

must be content to send neither you, nor no other of his men, but write by some belonging to this Court, and I will friendly and speedily dispatch his requests. And thus I, having speedy access at my coming, and gently dismissed at my parting, came my way.

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R. A.

Sir Richard Moryson to the Lords of the Council.

PLEASE it your good Lordships. The King's Majesty's instructions, with letters from your honours, bearing date the 24th of September, I received at Spire, the 4th of this month: which as soon as I had well perused, and learned the King's Highness's pleasure, then I forthwith made towards the Court, where I found such favour, as I had access to his Majesty, almost as soon as I came; for I sent my Secretary from me, which had ridden half the way, to show Monf. D'Arras * that I was coming to the Court, with letters from the King my Master to the Emperor, and somewhat I had also to say by word of mouth from his Highness unto his Majesty, trusting that forasmuch as Ambassadors might not long bide nigh the camp he would help shortly that I might have audience. And because such good will as D'Arras showed at this my coming, may give your honours the better to judge of the Emperor's gladness from mine arrival, I will orderly touch what he did. At my Secretary's coming, D'Arras was with the Emperor, and so finding Mr. Adrian of the Emperor's chamber, Ascham made him the means that D'Arras came to him strait, who learning the cause of his coming, went in, and told the Emperor the matter, and forthwith bad Ascham go home with him, for I should straitway be provided of a lodging. By chance I went into the town, when D'Arras was going home to his house, who very gently willed me to go home with him, for I should shift me in his lodging, and do what

1552.
October 7.

* Bishop of Arras, afterwards Cardinal Granville.

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I would, till the Emperor had word, that I was now come, or till the Fourriers had provided me a house of mine own; and forthwith he sent for Anwerpe the harbinger, to whom he gave commandment in the Emperor's name, that he should see me well lodged. I said, to be lodged was enough for a night or two; well lodged was not to be fought for, of such as would follow camps. I rode a good way in the town at his right hand, he using me with great humanity, and being come to his house, he brought me into his bed-chamber, to the which he willed me in any wise to send for my mail, and so to shift me there. While it was coming, he asked me, what news? I told him, I had brought with me none but good, and, as I thought, would much content the Emperor's Majesty. He asked me, how the King's Highness did; and after I had said what I thought, both of his Majesty's health, increase of strength, virtues, &c. he asked me, how we did with France, whether the French made restitution of such goods, as they had violently taken from us, or not. I said, I could not tell, but I heard, that there was good and large promises that all should be restored, and the injury might be thought the less, that in time of war, and in time of peace, pirates and such robbers and freebooters act without laws. He replied, saying, they were a shrewd sort of pirates that had taken 200,000*l.* from our merchants. Whereunto I answered, it were too much, if it were a good deal short of that sum, and yet I heard the French King had promised restitution of all that could be justly demanded; and with this my mail came, and the Bishop said, he would let me alone till I had changed my apparel. While my men brought me such things as I did mind to wear, his servants did fetch me a brush, water for my hands, and after this, they cast a couple of napkins upon the table, and brought in a pasty of red deer, and said, there was a couple of partridges at the fire, and would straitway be ready. I told them, I had dined at Spires, and yet the Bishop, now knowing that my men had done with me, came again, and willed me to taste of the
venison,

venison, that I might taste of his wine. I saw a dish of olives, and so did eat one of them, and brought him good luck in a cup of wine, which he would needs I should taste. His kindness was very great, in comparison of any that ever I received in this Court, and I thought my good lucks came together, for Bernardine was gone that morning towards England, as he told divers, and I was thus cockered of the Bishop at afternoon, which both were such news to me, and so welcome, that I wist not whether I was gladder, that Bernardine was gone from this Court, or of this my rare entertainment with D'Arras; but I must go on in order with my matter. I, for that I had more list to talk than to eat, would not venison, and therefore the pasty was carried to my men, and they much made of. He and I fell to talking again, he groping to know mine errand, and I keeping it for the Emperor. He asked me, whether the ports were shut in England, as he had word from Flanders, or no? I said, I neither knew of any cause why they should be kept, or heard of any keeping of them, more than that he had said. And whilst we thus talked, his Chamberlain came from the Court, and told him, that the Emperor did now look for me. D'Arras seeing my horse without a foot-cloth, did offer me his mule. But I gave him thanks, and, saving your honours, in buskings and spurs, and other short apparel, made my horse serve me well enough. And in going I said, I knew well mine errand would now not be long hid from him. He brought me forth of his house, and tarried abroad, till I was on horseback, then also courteously with his cap in hand, taking leave of me; and thus being come to the Court, I found Adrian of the chamber waiting for me, who was so ready to bring me in to the Emperor, that I was fain to intreat him, to give me leave to breathe me a little, for that I had come apace up a long pair of stairs. Upon this short pause, I followed Adrian, and found the Emperor at a bare table without a carpet, or any thing else upon it, saving his clock, his brush, his spectacles, and his picktooth. At my coming in,

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in, I offered to stand upon that side of his Majesty, which was next to the door, but it being on his left hand, he willed me to go almost round about the table, that I might stand on his right side, perhaps for that he heareth better on the one side than on the other; but as I took it, he did it to honour the King my master. Here, after the delivery of the King's Highness's letters, which his Majesty received very gently, putting his hand to his bonnet, and uncovering the better part of his head, I did efforce myself with as good a countenance as I could, and with as good words as my wit would serve me to devise, in the riding almost of twenty English miles, to show the gladness of the King my Master, for that his Majesty, in so long and painful a journey, either had his health continually, or was by being sometime indisposed, soon brought to perfecter health. I did say besides much more, there could be few that did more rejoice at his Majesty's so honourable and fortunate approaching towards the Low Countries, than did the King my Master, who did repute all his Majesty's good successes, to be as his own, and as glad as of any that could happen to himself; beseeching his Majesty to believe me in this, I added nothing of mine own, but faithfully did say in Italian, that the King's Majesty had, word for word, appointed me in English, and said the King's Majesty even in these years, did contend with his noble father either in loving the Low Countries of Flanders, or in desire to show pleasure to his Majesty, Lord of them. He did not suffer me to go on, but with the least pause that I could make, he did utter unto me in gentle words, that he took the King his good brother's letters in very thankful part, and took his salutations, and sending of me to him with such a friendly message, as they did right well deserve, saying, as well as he could (for he was newly rid of his gout and fever, and therefore his nether lip was in two places broken out, and he forced to keep a green leaf within his mouth, at his tongue's end, a remedy as I took it, against such his dryness, as in his talk did increase upon him), saying therefore

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as well as he could, he neither had nor could forget the King's Majesty's Father's love, at sundry times shewn unto him, nor deceive that trust, which at his death he did put him in, recommending unto his trust, the King his son. He would not forget the amity, that so many years had lasted between the realm of England and the house of Burgundy; he trusted the King his good brother had in these his young years, found friendship and no hurt at his hand, and that he had seen a desire in him perpetually to preserve this ancient amity, using this sentence, that old amities which had been long tried, and found good, are to be made much of; and this he spake a little louder than he did the rest, as though he would, indeed, have me think that he did earnestly mean, that he said. And yet hath he a face, that is as unwont to disclose any hid affection of his heart, as any face that ever I met withal in my life; for there all white colours, which, in changing themselves, are wont in others to bring a man certain word, how his errand is liked or misliked, have no place in his countenance; his eyes only do bewray as much as can be picked out of him. He maketh me oft think of Solomon's saying, Heaven is high, the earth is deep, a King's heart is unsearchable; there is in him almost nothing that speaketh, besides his tongue, and that at this time, by reason of his leaf, and soreness of his lip, and his accustomed softness in speaking, did but so utter things to be well understood, without great care to be given to his words; and yet he did so use his eyes, so move his head, and order his countenance, as I might well perceive, his great desire was, that I should think all a good deal better meant, than he could speak it; and as I dare in so weighty a matter, I do surely think, he meant the most of what he said. Sure I am, he is too wise not to wish the King's Majesty to be fully his.

When he did pause, and that I had licence to speak again, I entered into the Turk's matter, saying as much therein, as might both show, in what peril Christendom is and what praise the King's Majesty's good nature did worthily deserve, which being farthest off of all

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all Christian Princes from the danger, is the first and readiest of them all, to think upon the remedy. And in this his Majesty's great zeal did appear, that he offered his aid, only for pity borne to the miserable state of Christendom; not desired to it, but moved rather by the harm like to light upon his friends, than upon himself, although by course of nature his Majesty was like enough to live while part of the misery might be felt even in England, if the Turk should do his will in Hungary, and in these coasts of Germany, which two years together he had very cruelly assaulted; making the King's offer, I did say, when his Majesty should see it expedient, he was fully bent to accord with him and other Christian Princes and Estates for the abasing of such a cruel and common enemy, not only to the Christians, but to Christ himself. And here he said, my good brother meaneth this his aid, only against our enemy the Turk. I saw he liked this offer as it were well enough, but he made not much of it, thinking in very deed, as I might perceive, to have heard somewhat of joining of forces against another enemy of his, to whom he beareth as little good-will as he can do to the Turk, as at whose hands he hath received more displeasures, than at the Turk's. And here, he having so good an occasion to have said somewhat of the French King, whether it was for that he spake with some pain, or whether he would that I should speak first against him, did not so much as once name him; howbeit, I do guess, he looked for some direct answer of the suit which the Regent* made to the King's Majesty, as concerning the aid for Luxemburgh, wherein I would have made a foul error, if, the Emperor saying nothing, I would have sought redress thereof. For how could I have found his grief but I must have granted there was just cause of his grief? and therefore he hiding the fore, it was not my part to complain. And for this cause, the more he seemed indifferent to press me, the more lay I in wait not to pass my commission, being content to restrain my talk,

* The Regent of the Netherlands, the Emperor's sister.

and

and to think he meant to answer me by D'Arras, using in very deed seldom to determine his pleasure out of hand, where D'Arras hath brought the matter to him before. And yet I said so much to him herein, that his Majesty said, he did very much rejoice to hear the zeal in so young a King to find so good a will, so great a desire, to mean good to so many, and prayed me to give to his good brother from him, his hearty thanks, for this his good and princely offer. And when I had promised his Majesty to do both it, and any thing else that might pertain to the duty of a good Minister, he gave me his hearty thanks, but I did perceive he looked for better news at my hands, and thought all these the least part of mine errand. It may be he had heard, before my coming, how the French ships were stayed in England, which news were so brim in the Court at mine arrival, that while I was with the Emperor, Secretary Bane was in hand with Ascham, to know whether I had brought with me the confirmation of these news or not, saying he was the Emperor's Secretary, and therefore he might trust him with news, which he should shortly know, though he did not tell him the same. Yea, they had also bruited it in the Court, before my coming, that our Ambassador in France, had said in express terms to the French King, that if he did not forthwith make restitution of such goods as were wrongfully taken from our merchants, he had commandment from the King our Master, to denounce him cruel war. It was also reported and allowed in Court, for true news, that our ports were kept shut, and that none might pass out of England to any place, that perchance he that looked to hear all these good news, and more too at my coming, thought I had told him very little, having but a meant aid against the Turk to tell him. For men do sooner find a lack when they miss that they hoped for, than take thankfully that they think on. I seeing no occasion to speak of any man to be sent into England, did as I was bidden, in ending my message, leave the consideration thereof to his Majesty's wisdom, not mistrusting

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but I should have good occasion to make the offer to D'Arras, if the Emperor should seem earnestly to mind the matter. Whereupon I pausing, the Emperor said, he would shew his whole pleasure to D'Arras, as touching this his good brother's offer. And putting his hand, as he could, to his cap, seemed to me to crave an end of this talk. Whereupon I, after I had looked, if there were any thing else that his Majesty would say to me, and found he had no more to say, I with an humble manner as I could, took my leave of his Majesty. I was not so soon gone out of the Court, but I found the Bishop's Chamberlain waiting for me, who brought me to my house, which was where the Palsgrave lay, all the time he was at Court. Perhaps, if D'Arras had known mine errand before, I might have been worse lodged, and have found no man to conduct me to my lodging. The Chamberlain had commission to will me to send to my Lord his Master, for wine, and what I wanted besides, which I did, and had birds and fowl offered my man, with a pasty of red deer, but he brought me nothing but a flaggon of his wine, and four or five cast of his manchets. I was in mine house an hour and more, before it was time to supper, and thought D'Arras would have sent for me to talk to him; but whether it were that he looked that I should make him offer, or whether it were for that he had other business, he sent not for me, till it was nine o'clock in the morning after; at which hour, his Chamberlain came for me, and I went straight way to him. He said, the Emperor's Majesty had sent to him to know, whether I had been with him or no, and hearing that I had not been with him since my talk with his Majesty, he sent again, willing him to talk with me, and to require of me, whether I had any particular matters touching the present occurrents, and to pray me that I would declare them unto D'Arras. Mine answer was, if I had been commanded to say more to his Majesty than I had said, I would be loth to live, while I might be justly charged with it. I had kept no jot from his Majesty that I was willing to say unto him.

him. I thought the news good as they were, and was glad I might bring them hither, as well for that they did both show a great good nature in the King my Master, and also a great care in him toward the safety of the Emperor's state, honour, and dominions. I thought if other Princes might be by long intreaty, as well persuaded to set upon so noble an enterprise, as the King of England was bent to it out of his own good nature, the Turk should be driven to do hurt somewhere else, or to do none to Christendom from henceforth. D'Arras told me, if I had no more, he would go to the Emperor, and say, his Majesty had heard as much as I had commission to say. It seemeth they would fain have given me a new commission. Mine answer was, he should do well so to do, for I was a Minister, and could not appoint myself, to say any thing in my Master's name, without a warrant for it; from myself I could say somewhat, not as Ambassador, nor one bidden to say it, but as one that, with the King my Master, did earnestly wish a safety to all the Emperor's things; and if he would give me leave to lay aside mine office, mine Ambassadorship, and privately to talk with him, as a poor friend might speak with an Emperor's great Counsellor, I would tell him what I thought; marry, I would say it to hear no more of it. By the way from Spires hitherward, I thought I saw I might be bold with the Emperor's Majesty, to have said unto him, that he should do well to send some special men both to the King's Majesty, and also to other Princes, devising with each of them, how this league against the Turk might be well made; and if you think as I do, let me sit out, and make the devise your own; if ye like it not, I shall better bear it to be counted unwise, than unwilling to help forward that which I take to be so beneficial to all Christendom. For what hurt can the Turk do to Christendom, if Christians do not back him? And here D'Arras said enough against the French King, and said he would show me a pretty way of writing news, and going to a coffer of his, he brought out a couple of

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blanks sent by Darramont from Constantinople to the French King, wherein might be written such news as might best serve the French King's purpose, and be taken for news come from the Turk's Court, because Darramont had subscribed both the blanks with his hand and name. I saw both the blanks, but whether they were Darramont's or like to be his, I know not. After this and much other talk, I took my leave of him, and he said he would to the Emperor. At four o'clock his Chamberlain cometh to me again, and prayeth me to take so much pains as to come again to his Master. When we were both set, he told me he had shewed the Emperor, that what I was commanded to say, I had said it all, who once again told me, he thought I might of good consideration, for not troubling his Majesty long, who was as yet not well recovered, have kept some particularities in store; but saith he, seeing you have nothing else to say unto him, he saith thus to you, that ye must render his most hearty thanks unto his good brother, and say that his Majesty maketh great account of this his kind and friendly offer, and therefore will forthwith address his letter unto the Regent, that she for her highness may both understand the present occurrences of England, and also know further the King's Majesty's mind, touching the offer which ye have in his Majesty's name made unto him, and use it as she shall see cause. And, said he, as I told the Emperor, ye could not enlarge your commission, so I also told him, what ye thought as of yourself, for the which your honest and friendly advice, he gives you his most hearty thanks, not mistrusting, but ye that thus carefully do think of things, will so set out his good will, favour and love, to the King his good brother, as the amity may daily increase. The Emperor you see is no catcher up of other men's things, but could be well content to lack a good portion of that he hath, if without impeachment to his honour, he could let go his just inheritance. And here, he said, the Emperor did wish the like godly mind in the rest of the Princes, that he found in the King, his good brother, and

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did trust he should be a King of as great honour as hath been in England many hundred years. This, and an hundred times as much, he spake with such affection, as, if words may be thought to mean what they say, there can be no more wished for, than is to be hoped for. The rest I leave to your wisdoms to weigh, more I cannot say in this matter. For occurrents here, there be no more than I sent your honours in my last letters. It may be, Weston may meet with some by the way, for that every hour we look to hear, that the Duke of Alva, and Marches Albert have bickled together. At the Court, there is no talk of the Emperor's going from Landau. Monsieur D'Arras has promised to write them unto me, when there come any good news, and if there had been any ready made, I do not doubt but I should have had some. And thus I take me leave most humbly of your Lordships.

From Spira, the 7th of October, 1552.

Your Lordship's, &c.

RICHARD MORYSON*.

* This letter and R. Ascham's were transcribed from the originals in the Paper Office.

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1555.

No. V.

Harleian
lib. 252.
15.

The Journey of the Queen's Ambassadors unto Rome, anno 1555. The Reverend Father in God the Bishop of Ely, and Viscount Montagu, then Ambassadors; who set out of Calais in Picardy, on Wednesday, being Asb-Wednesday, the 27th of February.

[This Journal, though not writ by one of the most distinguished persons in the train of the Ambassadors, contains many curious particulars of the face of the country, the appearance of the great towns, and the customs of Italy at that time. Some minutiae and inaccuracies must be overlooked. This is the last embassy which went from England to pay public homage to the See of Rome. Lord Castlemain, sent by King James, could only address the Pope in the name of his Master, and of the English Catholics; not that of the nation.]

FROM Calais to Boulogne, seven leagues, passing by Sandyforde Abby, and through Morgyfon, which were both destroyed by Henry VIII.

From Boulogne to Monstrueil, seven leagues, passing by Hardito castle, which standeth upon a great marsh, and a wood on the one side of it. Monstrueil standeth high as Boulogne doth, Boulogne having on the north-east and south side of it, a marsh. At our being there, they were fortifying and enlarging of the town. It was better manned by much than Boulogne.

From Monstrueil to Abbeville, ten leagues, leaving a town on the right hand. This town standeth very strongly, by reason of marsh grounds about it, and the river of Somme passing by it.

From

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The smaller, figs, cherries, almonds, peaches, and others, which was to the beholders a marvellous sight and pleasure. This house is built in a quadrant form, to the height of two stories plain, and the roof with gable windows cast out for a third; the foresaid gable windows being of a marvellous greatness, answering to the others beneath, in number, fashion, and quantity. The whole house is of free stone, so white, so great and fair as may be seen; the covering is of blue slate; the roof (as through all France) more raised up, than our buildings, the which giveth much beauty to their houses. The gate is made extant with pillars, and thrice vaulted, and in the uppermost vault standeth St. George on horseback, wrought also in free stone, to a marvellous greatness, the pillars likewise being Tuscan work. In the inside of the said gate, two of the lowest pillars are of blue fair marble, answerable to a like couple right over against them on the farthest side, there being a like front and to that galleries before. Of the four sides of this quadrant, the gate side, with that over against it, are appointed to two galleries, the other couple to chambers. The galleries of the gate are of a lower roof than the other three, and therefore hath but his gallery above of a high vaulted roof, and his terrass beneath, open to the court and quadrant. This gallery is twenty-one feet broad, and eighty in length: the pavements are very broad, and like even, stained with the arms of the Crown and Peers of France, the King's poetry being *Donec totum impleat orbem*. The roof within is gilt, the ridge tiles without are also gilt. The cieling within is of walnut. The other gallery was hanged with rich arras, where was also a chart of the Holy Land, made of divers woods, and of natural colours, set in small pieces, as the demonstration of the said places required, and seemed rather to have been done with the pencil, than otherwise. At the end of the gallery, under the same roof, is the chapel, the cieling whereof is like workmanship to the chart afore-named, of Brazil, furrie, walnut tree, and other like woods, joined in the

Figures

figures of the apostles, and other curious works. The table of the altar, with the images thereabout, be of white marble, with two pillars of fine jett. The chambers are not great, but very well conveyed, having a narrow gallery to convey you to every one of them apart; but the gallery is close, and appears not outward to them that be in the court. The chimneys stand two feet off the wall into the chambers, and yet seem not to hurt the room, nor the sight thereof, because they be raised in the midst of the side of the chamber, having a side light of the window; and again, they keep even largeness to the roof of the chamber; all above the marble, planted with pleasant works, and in oil coloured. In the court standeth an huge great horse of copper, which shall be set upon the gate, with the image of the King upon the back of him.

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Within two leagues of this house is St. Dennis, where all the Kings of France be buried, and sometimes crowned. But the appointed place of coronation is at a city called Rheims in Champagne.

The town of St. Dennis is neither fair nor large, but the church is great, and the treasure also. In this church we saw the shrine of St. Dennis made of silver, and gilt, and a great roode of clean gold, lacking but one arm, the which Francis the French King took away to maintain his wars; adjoining instead thereof, for recompence, one of silver, and gilt. There is also one whole unicorn's horn, which was almost two ells long grown taper wise, and wreathed, as we see it commonly painted. This horn is but slender to the length, yet notwithstanding massive and heavy. There was also St. Dennis's head (*ut dicitur*) richly enclosed in gold, and beset with precious stones and orient pearl. Likewise a piece of the holy crosse, and one of the nails wherewith Christ was nailed thereto, set in gold. We were also brought into the treasury there, where we saw reliques in another place with ornaments of the King and Queen's coronation. And first I saw these reliques, a piece of the holy crosse, in a crosse of gold; the finger of St. Thomas that he put into the wound of our

K

Lord;

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Lord; a griffin's claw trimmed with silver, as great as a hunter's horn of the middle sort; St. Benedict's head; St. Dennis's Penner and Inkhorn; a cup was Solomon's, and one other made of an Agather, of a marvellous greatness and riches. I saw also the crowns of the King and Queen: upon the King's crown, a ruby as big as a wall-nut, and on every part set with stones. Also the sword and scepter of the Kings, set with massy gold, the knob thereof being set with diamonds and pearl. Also the King's spurs of gold, and the portraitures of Nero, Charlemayne, and other Emperors.

Between St. Dennis and Paris, there are divers crosses, much like to churching crosses, but not so big altogether, nor so high; where (as it is said) St. Dennis rested after he was beheaded.

Thus rode we towards Paris where Monf. le Bois Dauphin met the Ambassadors in the highway to Paris, which city standeth somewhat low upon the river of Seine, which divideth the university from the town, compassing round about the city, which lieth between them both as an isle, yet is Paris altogether of a round form. It is very fair and great, and full of merchants; but the streets be very foul, by reason their houses be very high and the streets very narrow. The city alone hath nineteen churches in it, with the great church of Notre Dame, in the steeple whereof, hangeth a bell, weighing 33,000 lb. The French King hath a house there called Louvre.

I saw in Paris the wonderful instrument of Oroncius, then alive; therein was to be seen the course of the seven planets presently moving, with aspects the one to the other. I also saw the coining house, with the new coins so perfectly stamped, that in my judgment no man is able to counterfeit the same. The mill that standeth in the midst of Seine, serveth to strike the bullion, and the work is so speedy, that putting in a lathe of metal an inch thick, and a foot long, he bringeth it quickly to the thinness of a French sous, and the thickness sufficient to the stamp is, when the lathe will enter in a little notch,
that

that is in a steel
ninth day.

. We tarried there the seventh, eighth, and

From Paris to Melun, seven leagues, leaving on the left hand, one league from Paris, a castle of the King's, built by King Henry V. King of England, named Bois de Vincenne, where all the prisoners taken in the wars against the Emperor, do lie in hold; and so passing through two towns, the one called Pont Charenton, and the other Ville Neuve St. George. At Pont Charenton there meeteth two rivers, Marne and Seine, and so runneth to Paris. Almost at the gate we went out of, standeth the castle, called the Duke of Bedford's castle, and the Bastellion, without the gate, where the Frenchmen now build a pace. In Melun standeth a castle environed with the river of Seine, built by Englishmen.

From Melun to Fountainbleau, four leagues, where the French King's Court lay. Two miles off the Court, certain gentlemen of the King's house met our Lords, and courteously entertained them, and brought them the nearest way to the Court, where they lovingly received them, and led them into a gallery, where they had every one of them prepared a very fair lodging, costly hanged, and set forth with as rich beds as might be seen. The house is called Fountainbleau, for the goodly fountain it hath in the house, and the fairness of the water. This house is both beautiful and larger than any I had before seen in France or England. I may resemble the state thereof to the honour of Hampton Court, which as it passeth Fountainbleau, with the great hall and chambers, so is it inferior in outward beauty and uniformity, which praiseth all kind of building most, for the covering thereof is blue slate, and all the rest of free stone.

There is an out court or quadrant, whereof one side is a gallery, to walk in, being in length six hundred feet. There is also on the south side a garden, having in it a great pond, the walks and allies shadowed with pine and cyprus trees. At the end of one of the allies is a vault curiously counterfeited as out of the rock natural,

M A R Y.

1555.

Henry II.

Catherine de
Medicis.

whither they do repair to refresh themselves in hot weather. There is another garden more privy, set full of antiquities of copper. In the face of the great lodging, riseth a great fountain, as I have said, spouting with five spouts upright, out of a natural rock, or else, very naturally wrought. This house standeth in a valley, compassed about with rocky hills, but not very great; and the country is forest, full of deer, wolves, and wild boars. The name of the forest is Barre, the house standeth three leagues within it every way. The Lords came to the Court about four o'clock, and within one hour after were brought to the King's presence, who received them very genteelly, and embraced as many gentlemen of the train as came unto him. After the Lords had some talk with the King, they were brought into the Queen's chamber of presence, where the French Queen, accompanied with the Queen of Scots, and two of her own daughters, were ready to receive them. From thence they departed to their lodgings, where were ready to wait upon them, divers of the French King's gentlemen, being appointed to attend them dinner and supper during their abode there. The next day after, being the 11th day, the rest of the train that could not be lodged at the Court came thither, and desired certain Scottish gentlemen, that they might see the Queen of Scots; who being told of their desire to see her, immediately she very courteously came forth out of her privy chamber into her chamber of presence amongst us all, and said unto us, she was very glad to see us, calling us her countrymen. About four o'clock this afternoon the French King came from hunting the wild boar, and then the Lords went and took their leave of him, and the King embraced them, and as many of their gentlemen as came unto him. That done, the same night they departed from the Court, and rode to St. Mathurin's. The King is a goodly tall gentleman, well made in all the parts of his body, a very grim countenance, yet very gentle, meek, and well beloved of all his subjects.

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We remained all this, the 12th day, at St. Mathurin's. This St. Mathurin (as they said) is a holy man, that can help mad men and women, within nine days space, if they do this that follows. The Priest, when Mass is done, must call for the madmen or women, to come and kneel before the altar, and when he had said certain prayers, he must come and lay flannel upon their heads, and, making the sign of the Cross, say certain words over them; that ended, they rise, and go round about the altar four times, and at every time, kiss the four brazen pillars that stand about the altar. Then must they offer up unto St. Mathurin, a pottle-pot full of wine, three loaves of bread, and a French sous in money, which in value in our English money is *ijd. ob. q.* and doing this for the space of nine days together, they say they shall have their right wits again.

From St. Mathurin to Montargis, eight leagues, this town standeth so well for wood, water, and meadow, as I have not seen the like in all France before. There standeth a castle, fair for all lodgings; but of no force, the which sometime (as they say) was in the keeping of my Lord Talbot. The house is of great receipt, and very stately. The hall hath a pair of stairs fifty-six steps going up to, it hath also six chimnies in it, sixty-five paces long, and twenty paces broad. There is both a guard chamber and a chamber of presence, the which I have not seen in other places in that country.

From Montargis to Briare, nine leagues. By this town runneth the greatest river in France, called Loyre, leaving it always upon our right hand. It parteth the dutchy of Berry from Nyvernoys, and from Barboys.

From Briare to Cone, eight leagues, through a town called Bony. From Cone to la Charité, eight leagues, leaving on the right side of us, over the river of Loyre, a town called Sancer, with a castle in it of great force, which town of late is called young Chenevy, of divers men, because of their religion.

From La Charité to Nevers, five long leagues. As we rode by the river of Loyre, we saw water mills standing upon boats in the

main

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main river, to be removed by the millers to any other place they like better, as they list. At Nevers is a bridge twenty-five score paces over, upon the which we passed the river of Loyre, and there left it.

From Nevers to St. Pierre le Monaster, five long leagues. This is a little walled town, where the Justices of the country use it, and keep their sessions.

From St. Pierre le Monaster to Moulins, through a town called Villeneuve, leaving the river Allier on our right hand, the which runneth into Loyre. This town of Moulins, is the chiefeft town in Bourbonnois, where is a great and ancient house of the Duke of Bourbon's, commodious conduits and gardens. There is a conduit having out of the midst of the stem an artichoke bearing four ripe as it were, and one seeded, and out of the leaves springeth water, as rain, very artificially wrought in copper and gilt. Here we saw oranges, lemons, pomegranates, growing by labour and diligence of men; for the trees be growing with barrels filled with good earth, and in the winter be removed, under terrasses and houses made of purpose, and are ever brought out again the spring, into the garden again. In the garden be two goodly banqueting houses, the one of them hath water about it, and the other a great many of singing birds in it, of divers sorts, and at every corner of it, a great hart's head standing, with many other goodly commodities.

There is a bone of a man to be seen, whose length was sixteen feet, and found in Vienne in Dauphine. Furthermore I saw there the proportion of divers cities, with the walls, churches, and bulwarks, carved in wood very curiously.

From Moulins to la Palice, ten leagues. This town standeth upon a hill, the country round about it, being forest and heath.

From la Palice to Roanne, six long leagues, passing a small mountain. There we passed the river of Loyre, as we go out of the town towards Italy.

From

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From Rouane to Tarare, six long leagues. This town standeth in a deep bottom, the hills hanging over on every side, and is watered with a narrow stream, but so swift, that within the space of two hundred yards, four mills are driven, two for corn, one to saw timber, and another to beat the hemp. The corn mill grindeth with a flat wheel, the water being forced to one side of it. The saw mill is driven with an upright wheel; and the water that maketh it go, is gathered whole into a narrow trough, which delivereth the same water to the wheels. This wheel hath a piece of timber put to the axletree end, like the handle of a broch, and fastened to the end of the saw, which being turned with the force of the water, hoisteth up and down the saw, that it continually eateth in, and the handle of the same is kept in a rigall of wood from swerving. Also the timber lieth as it were upon a ladder, which is brought by little and little to the saw with another vice. The hemp mill is much like the cyder mills we have in England, where a stone is rolled about in a vault or vessel, where the hemp lieth.

From Tarare to Lyons, six long leagues. Lyons is a goodly city, and a strong, by means of the rocks on the one side of it, and the waters on the other side. We came into the town on Lyons side, a mile before we came to any bridge, and then we passed a bridge over the river Saone, and going out of town, we went a long mile in Dauphine side, and passed a long bridge over the river Rhone. The greatest part of the town, is as it were an isle. At the end thereof, both the rivers being joined together. Upon the north side of the town is the new fortification, and the castle upon the very rock. Upon the south side is the church of St. Henry, his corpse and sepulchre; the pillar whereunto Christ was bound, of blue marble, with white veins; and on the east side, a valley or plain, very fruitful. It is evil dwelling there for those that will perjure themselves, for they shall be burned with a fire called St. Anthony's

fire.



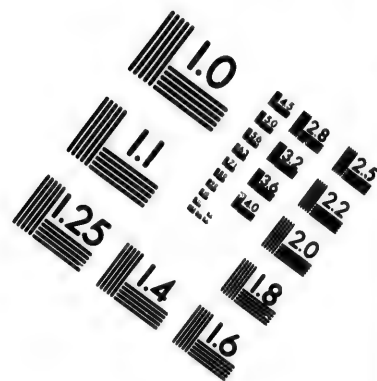
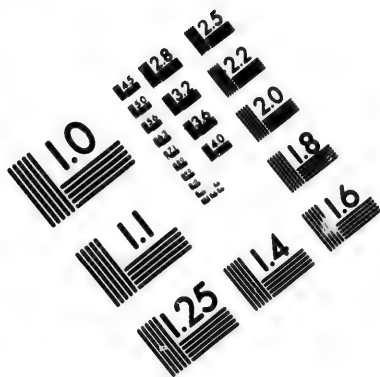
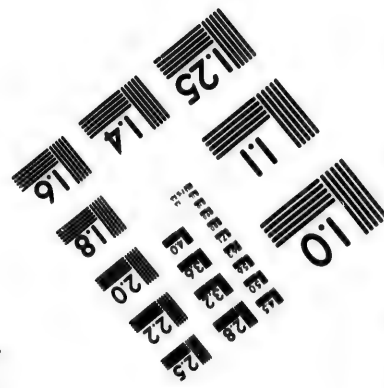
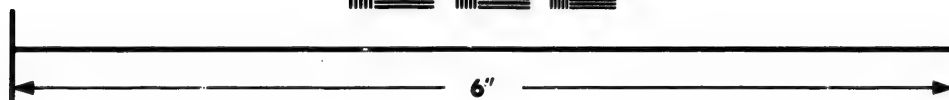
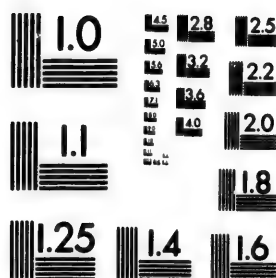


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fire. We tarried two days at Lyons. Here we had great entertainment of Madame Lacheveriere, a great Lady in Lyons.

From Lyons to Burgoin, five leagues. This town standeth under a great hill, having a good foil, with wood and water enough.

From Burgoin to Pont Beauvoisin, five leagues, through a town named La tour du Pin, passing a great wood of chefnuts. Through this town runneth the river of Giers that cometh from the mountains. The one side of the water is Dauphinois, and the other is Savoy. There is also a mill to make oil of walnuts.

From Pont Beauvoisin to Chamberry, five long leagues, where, by the way we passed by Mount Aiguberte, a great mountain, and very dangerous, one league high and more, all upon rocks, and a very narrow passage. Here, master White, whose father was Master of the Requests to Queen Mary, and a gentleman of

Ambassador Leger to Rome, taking hold of his horse's head, to pull him nearer the rock side, to keep him from falling down the hill, his horse going back pulled his master after him, and both together tumbled down the hill a great way, and there staid, and yet neither of them hurt. This is the chiefest town of all Savoy, and hath a great fair castle in it, but of no force; it standeth in a valley full of corn, woods and pasture, plenty of fruits, as figs, almonds, &c. We being almost at the foot of the hill, and thinking we had but one English mile to the town, we found it five long miles before we came at it, and the way very strait.

From Chamberry to Aigubelle, five long leagues, through Mount Melian, a pretty town, in which standeth a notable strong castle upon a rock, that keepeth the passage between the mountains, the which is thought impregnable but by famine or treason. By this town runneth the river Lyzore, and through Aigubelle, the river Arte is called Aqua Bella of the Fountains, but the river is exceedingly foul.

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The church of Aigubelle was founded by a Bishop of Harteforde, called Petrus de Acqua Bianca.

From Aigubelle to St. Jean de Morienne, fix long leagues, riding betwixt the mountains of a very great height, all that journey; upon which mountains was plenty of corn and vines, with very many dwelling houses and cottages, as we call them, and some of them thought to be a league high. That day we passed over the river of Lyzere four times. This town standeth very barrenly upon the river of Arte, the which falling from the mountains, is so swift, and makes so great a noise, that it is able to make a man deaf, and hath no fish in it. We rode along this river five days journey. In these mountains be wild boars; their hogs are all black; their sheep great and long legged, with crooked snouts; and very many goats.

From St. Jean de Morienne to St. Andre, four long miles, still between the mountains, and those higher to my seeing than the other. There was such a noise of water beating upon the rocks, and such monstrous mountains to behold, of a huge height, being always in danger of some stone falling upon us, that it seemed rather a hell than a highway to pass in. Upon the right hand on the other side of those mountains, all the way is Dauphiny. At St. Andre, I coming into a church, about four o'clock in the afternoon, spied a young child lying dead upon a board before the image of our Lady, and an old woman sitting watching and praying by it, having also a tallow candle burning, and a great many pease and beans in a little tray, the which she had offered unto our Lady. I asked her in French what she meant to do? And she answered, that the child was born dead, and that she looked for the life of it, or at least to burst out a bleeding in some place of the body; and thus they do for the space of fifteen days together till it stinked. If it be so that it bleed, although it receive no life, it is christened, if not, then it is cast into the river. In this town news came for certainty, that Pope Julius Tertius died at Rome, the 25th of March.

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From St. Andre to Lanebourg, five long leagues, passing by a town called Trefignon, over a great mountain, yet there accounted as none, by reason of the ineffimable height of the other mountains. This day we had great rain and snow, and coming under the steep of a clift, a great gulf of water-fall, as great as the throw of a mill, fell down, in falling down suddenly from the clift was turned into snow, and had made there a mighty heap, on which we trod, the snow falling continually thick, and yet the space from the fall to the ground cannot be judged above twenty fathom. Among these mountains we saw on the 26th of March a young partridge. I being among these mountains, was drawn in a sledge a great part of the way for the value of *ijd.*

The way is made out of the rocks and mountains by men's hands; the diet there of the common people in Lent, is nothing else but pease and hearts, oil and chesnuts, and yet they be very fat withal.

From Lanebourg to Sufa, six long leagues; passing over the great mountain Cenis, the which is two leagues to the top, and when we are come to the top, then we have a great plain to go, which is two long leagues and a half; then had we three feet of the mountain (as they call it) to go down, that were half leagues a-piece, two of them, and the third was a whole league; we all passed without dangers, thanks be to God, to the great admiration to all the country, and no less I assure you to them that should hear the truth.

After we got to the top of the mountain, which we came, but with great pain, for I was fain to hire one to lead my horse up before me and I to come after him holding by the tail, for fear of falling backwards, it was so steep to the top; by the way I did see a poor man lie almost drowned in the snow, making round balls of snow, and eating of them for very hunger.

After we came at the top of the mountain, going the way towards the chappel, named La Chapelle de Trancizes, to wit, the Chappel of the Dead, being half a league: this chappel lieth full of dead

mens skulls that have died upon the mountain for extreme cold and other misfortunes, and there seemeth to be more than one thousand persons; whereof sixteen Launceknights were thrown in there, in March before.

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From thence we went to the Post House, called La Tavarro, an Inn, being half a league off. We had no other ground to go but only snow, that was but two feet broad, and hardened with the continual frost that is there almost always. So that in this way, the snow was thought to be at the least a spear depth and more, the which doth, if there be any heat at all, sink every two horses. The very same day that we passed over this mountain, there were four persons drowned by going a little out of their way; we were in the more hazard, by reason of the great wind that blew, and the abundance of snow that fell so fast from the elements, that one of us could not see another, being but a small way asunder, and such was it all the way of the plain of the hill. Descending of the plain, we turned upon the way, as though we had been going down a pair of stairs, having at every corner under us vallies of snow, some ten fathom deep, and some more. In my going down, I fell willingly above a dozen times, only to stay myself. What the Knights said it was, I will not write, lest I should be counted a liar; but the truth is, no man will believe the danger of the hill but such as know it; and in this wise did we turn at every ten or twelve fathoms, for half a league, until we came to a place called the Hospital; then turned we in like case upon the rocks half a league, until we came to a town called Feriere, and the first town of Piedmont, and from thence to another town named Novalesa, the which payeth twenty-two Crowns to the French King monthly; from thence to Susa all the way upon good stone, but not so evil as before. This town Susa payeth in like case monthly unto the French King one hundred Crowns. The 26th of April, five men drowned upon this mount Cenis, and three weeks before that, were three of the Prince of Salerne's men drowned in snow. The same

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day that we went over mount Cenis, it was told us, that the number that have been drowned there within this half year, is above fifty persons, by report of the inhabitants thereabouts, and yet in the months of July and August the snow is melted quite away from the plains of the mountain, besides some other; so that you shall see as good ground there as in all Savoy. Furthermore, the town of Susa is not strong, but yet kept with a garrison of men, to keep the passage between Savoy and Piedmont. Dr. Bennet, some time Archdeacon of Salisbury, and Ambassador from King Henry to the Pope, lieth buried in Susa. Upon the north side Susa is a mountain called Rochemelune, by estimation ten leagues high, upon the top whereof standeth a chappel of our Lady of Niges, the which was built by a Jew, that made his vow, he would build a chappel upon the top of the highest mountain in Europe, this being the highest mountain of all others. The Duke of Bourbon went thither before he went to the sacking of Rome, to offer up his harness to our lady of Niges. It was so high, that he made three days journey to the very top of it. We remained at Susa two days, the third and fourth. Upon mount Cenis there appeareth the way that was cut out of the rock by Hannibal when he entered into Italy.

From Susa to Avigliana, five long leagues, through three towns, the one called Buffolin, the second St. Ambrose, and the third St. George. This town standeth very pleasant; it hath a castle of great force in it, the which payeth monthly to the French King five hundred Crowns.

From Avigliana to Porcin, . . . miles, leaving Turin on the right hand of us, which is the chiefeft town of Piedmont. It seemeth to be very fair and strong, and standeth upon the river Po; it was our right way to have gone through it, but we could not be suffered to come within it, because their enemies lay so near unto it. There, the wars were set between them, the French King and the Emperor; they skirmished every day through a town named Rivole, which

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which payeth six hundred Crowns a month to the French King, and by a fort of the French King's, called Mount Calcar, a very strong fort, over the river Po, the which is the greatest river (as they say) in all Italy. We left also on the right hand of us, as it were a league from us, a very strong town, named Chieri, a town of war of the French King's; also Porcin hath been a very strong town but decayed by the wars, and is now a neuter town. There, for lack of lodgings, we were fain to lie in barns and stables all the night, in our hoods.

From Porcin to Asti, twelve miles; the which being the march, or frontier town of and we being to pass by the holds and castles of either party, who had daily skirmishes together, we were conducted by a French trumpet and a Spanish drum, by a town called Villa Nova D'Asti, French, and another called Villa Franca, Imperial, the towns round about us being all spoiled and burnt. Half a mile on this side the town of Asti, the Captain of the town, accompanied with three thousand men of arms, met the Lords and brought them to the town with great rejoicing, and they so curvetted their great horses, that some of them, horse and men, lay in the ditches; and when we came to the town, they gave the Lords a great volley of small shot, and some great ordnance shot off the walls, as my Lord North's younger son was in danger of killing; but there went one galloping to tell my Lords coming, and it was known they were Englishmen, so that they were glad. For about four o'clock in the afternoon, there was a general procession in the town, in token of rejoicing, as it seemed at our coming, supposing the Lords journey had been, as well to have treated a peace betwixt the Emperor and the French King, as for any matter besides. In this procession there were thirteen crosses, and such a number of Friars, as I never saw in all my life before, and above two thousand people I am sure. The women went strangely apparelled, fitter for maskers and players than women. This is the first town of the Emperor's. Here the Lords had very great

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great presents given them. The town of Asti is not very strong of itself, but it is well guarded with men of war. The Frenchmen gave alarm to the town this night, we lying there. The next day the Captains and men of arms conveyed the Lords in like manner, out of the town, as they brought them in, and with as much bravery as they could devise; for in three several places as we departed out of town, all the soldiers of the town made a guard in very good order, and gave the Lords a volley of shot to the number of two hundred. Then, when we came out of the gate, we saw two hundred shot, marching before us in good array, which went along with us a good mile out of the town, and when the Lords came nigh to them, they blew off their pieces, and took their leave of the Lords, and so departed back to the town, and went in like manner as they came out.

From Asti to Alexandria, twenty miles; passing by the castle of Nonven, which when we came over against it, shot off, very friendly; and as we passed through small towns they rung the bells, in token of rejoicing. At the gates of Alexandria, the Captain of the town, with a great number of Gentlemen, came and entertained the Lords very courteously, and brought them to their lodging, the fairest house of the town. As we entered the house, there was a great peal of squibs shot off with a train, which made a very great report, that to our thinking we took them for great pieces of ordnance. That night there came to the Lords from the Emperor's camp, a Gentleman of Spain, called Signior Andrea Rodovico, with a great troop of horsemen, and lay that night in the town to keep the Lords company; the Emperor's camp being but eight miles off the town. Here the Lords and all their train were clearly defrayed at the Knight's cost and charges for all things, for not eight days before our coming thither, the Captain of the town was taken prisoner of the Frenchmen. The French King had then taken Casal and the whole state of Mount Ferrat, which is the inheritance of the Duke

Duke of Mantua, enjoining five hundred holds and small towns to them. There runneth a goodly river on the west side of Alexandria, with a fair bridge over it, and divers mills.

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From Alexandria to Voghera, twenty miles; being accompanied with Rodovico, before named, and his troop of horsemen. Passing over the river at the town's end in a boat, there met us a small number of horsemen, but excellently well appointed, which went forward with us; riding two or three miles further, we were met with a great garrison of soldiers, which brought us through a town called Tortona, with trumpets blowing as they rode; and as we were passing through the town, the castle played with great shot. When they had brought us through the town, many of the horsemen returned to the camp. Then, when we came within a mile of a town called Ponterook, soldiers of another garrison came to attend the Lords, and went forward with us, and being within half a mile of Voghera, a Gentleman of the town, well accompanied, met the Lords, and brought them to their lodgings, where they, and all the train, were defrayed by the King. I never saw better horse, nor better appointed, than those that met the Lords by the way this day.

From Voghera to Pavia, fifteen miles; ferrying over the river of Po. Within a mile of Pavia, being over the river, the Lords and Gentlemen of the town met our Lords, and brought them to the city; passing a bridge at the town over the river Tessin, or Ticinium; upon which bridge stood a great number of soldiers in good order, and well appointed, and among them three thousand shot, which gave the Lords a brave volley. And so, after they had brought them to their lodgings, being the house of Signior Hyeroleino Sacco, there the state of Milan defrayed the Lords charges and train, and appointed divers to attend upon them.

All the foot bands of the garrison came marching to the Lords lodgings in the afternoon, five in a rank, passing bravely armed and appointed as ever I saw. Here the Lords were very sumptuously feasted and

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and entertained at the King's charges. Pavia is an old ancient city, and a county, and was in times past a kingdom. Lombardy is a goodly plain country, and very rich. Pavia is an university, and very pleasant for gentlemen to lie in. In the great church there, we saw the lively image of St. Augustine, and his tomb of white marble very rich; the tomb also of Leofranda, the last King of Pavia. The tomb of Boetius Severinus; and the tower of Fazen the lawyer. At our going out of the city, to give the Lords their farewell they shot off their great ordnance, and small shot gave the volleys.

From Pavia to Milan, twenty miles. Five miles from Pavia, we were brought to La-certoza de Pavia, where the Lords dined, and were greatly feasted. It is the goodliest and best house in all Europe. It was founded by Giovanni Galezzo, Duke of Milan, who lies there interred in a tomb of white marble; the two coffins and the table of the altar are all of ivory, with such workmanship, that it is a spectacle to all Lombardy. There is a cloyster forty feet quadrant; the doors, desks, and stools be so garnished with such notable histories, all of cut work, of divers kinds of woods, that no man possibly can paint them out more finely and lively. The marvellous works that be there, as well of the elephant's tooth, as of all kinds of wood, I think there be no where else to be found in Europe; howbeit it is not yet all finished. By the way we saw the field, where the French King was taken prisoner. Betwixt Pavia and the Charter House, the Duke enclosed a piece of ground with a great high wall, four square, and fifteen miles in compass about. This is called his garden, having within it divers several enclosures, for bears, wild boars, red and fallow deer, wolves, and all other kind of beasts of venery; which garden, at the battle when the French King was taken prisoner, was spoiled by divers breaches that he had made into the same. All the Monks of this Charter House be nobly born and descended. The revenues of the said Charter House per ann. is fifteen thousand
Crowns.

Crowns. The Lords were very honourably received in Milan, and lodged in a Nobleman's house, called Il Signor Constantio, where they were highly feasted at the charge of the King. Thither came, to salute the Lords, Il Conte l'Andriano, divers Nobles, and divers gallants of the city. Here the Lords had all the pleasure that could be shewed them, as well by instruments of music as otherwise. The city is by estimation seven or eight miles about. The form thereof, is like unto a heart, and hath six gates, and to every gate, two noblemen of the city appointed, and every gate is bound to marry twelve poor maidens yearly, being at certain charges in their bridals and apparel. Upon Easter Tuesday we saw twelve maids married, every one of them led with two Noblewomen, they themselves being clad in white. When they are married, there is given each of them a purse, with twenty ducats in it, one suit of apparel, besides that on their backs, and their dinner. The walls of the city are exceeding strong, but not altogether finished; and the castle also, for provision and strength, is to be wondered at; as for artillery, munition, corn, wines, oil, bacon, powdered beef, and Parmesan cheese. They make great store of armour in the castle; but no townsman may come in at the gate. This castle is of such force, as none in all Europe is comparable unto it. The church is an huge thing all of white marble, growing within their own dutchy, at a place called Lago di Como. They bore us in hand, that the covering shall be also of marble, but is not likely to be finished in our time, notwithstanding they have daily one hundred labourers upon it.

There is an hospital that may dispend 25,000 Crowns a year, the provision whereof passeth all other; for at that present, we saw one hundred fat oxen in a stable, one hundred vessels of wine, every one containing five tons, in one cellar; the diet so cleanly and daintily prepared for the sick as can be, by the recourse of surgeons and physicians, that it is a goodly thing to see. In this hospital are five

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hundred nurfes to look to the fick, and to bring up children. Many hospitals more there are, fome for men and fome for women, and fome for children, befides a houfe built without the town, for fuch as fhall be infected of the plague, having three hundred and fixty-five chambers feveral. This city is notably rich, and full of merchandize, and artificers, very wealthy; for there is almoft no artifice's wife but ſhe weareth a chain of gold about her neck or middle. The Noblemen and Gentlemen of Italy lie always in the great towns, and never in the country. The Lords tarried at Milan fix days, viz. the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th.

From Milan to Lodi, twenty miles; paſſing through a town called Marignano, where the Marquis hath a goodly houfe, and the Lords were made a great banquet there, the Marquis Marignano himſelf being at that time General for the Emperor, and lay before Siena, beſieging the town againſt the French King. All the way betwixt Milan and Lodi, we rode as between gardens; and to ſpeak truth, my eyes never ſaw any ſoil comparable to it for beauty and profit. They make hay there thrice a year. Their ground for tillage, beareth them alſo vines and fuel; for their vines are grown up by certain trees called Oppie, that are of a quick growth, therefore every three years from one of theſe trees to another, they pull the main branches of the vines, as ſtiff and ſtrait as a cord, ſo that they hurt not the ripening of their corn. And thus their vines and their trees growing in order, there is a ſpace left to the plough, and ſo intermix the corn with the ranks of the vine. There are no woods of ſuch timber as we have, but theſe only, willows, white haſels, and poplars, all ſet by line, in their meadows, paſtures, and grounds for tilling, &c. ſo that you cannot ſee any way from you half a quarter of a mile. They bring their water in every ditch, round about their encloſures, and make them run continually like little rivers of either ſide of the way, and have none other defence but that: and for their commodity, they make their waters
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so to run one over another and contrary to each other, because the evenness of the ground helpeth them much thereto. Their kine be great and good, and they eat a meat called Latimel or Forita. Their cheefe is the best in the world, and also veals. Marignano is a pleasant castle, but of no force; it standeth upon the river of Olon. The Lords were received into their lodging very honourably, with shot, both great and small. They were lodged in the house of the most noble Lodovico Vestarino, then General of the camp in Piedmont in Novara. This Lodi standeth upon a hill, very strongly, and hath a castle in it of great force.

From Lodi to Piacenza, twenty miles; passing by a little pile where was shot off ordnance both great and small; the Lords had a banquet in this pile; and after, passed the river of Po with boats; being all over the river, the Lords were received as before, and so passed by the town walls a long while ere ever they came to their lodgings. They being lodged in the house of Signior Francisco Baratiero, in the street called Santo Nazaro (la Signora Hippolita sua moglie. Signior Cesare et Hercole suoi figliouli. Signior Alberico, Alessandro, et Camillo Baratiero nepoti del detto Francisco Baratiero). This city is very strong, and a castle of great force, but not fully finished yet. This town did belong to the Church of Rome. Paulus Tertius being a Roman born, of the noble house of the Farnesi, and Pope, who willing to advance his own blood, created his son Peter Aliege Duke of Piacenza and Parma, who, for his cruelty and rigour towards his subjects, was slain in his own house; and because he that did kill him was afraid of the Pope, the townsmen delivered their town into the Emperor's hands, the which he hath exempted unto the Dutchy of Milan. This Peter Aliege, the first Duke of Piacenza and Parma, married the base daughter of the French King, and had by her three sons and one daughter; his daughter is married to the Duke of Urbine, and his eldest son named Octavio, is now Duke of Parma; the other two

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brethren be Cardinals, the one called Cardinal Farnese, who is now Chancellor of Rome, and the other, Cardinal St. Angelo, they both being in great estimation with the Pope Paulus Quartus, that now is; so that it is thought that they will procure and stir up war against the Emperor, for recovery of Piacenza for the Duke of Parma. Here the Lords remained two days, the 20th and the 21st.

From Piacenza to Cremona, eighteen miles, where we passed over the river of Po. This city is great and rich, and payeth yearly to King Philip of Spain (now our King), without tax, fifty thousand Crowns. There is an high steeple in the town, from whence this proverb ariseth, "Una Torre in Cremona, uno Porto in Ancona." They make excellent good knives at Cremona. Being passed over the river Po, the Lords were received and feasted as before. It is the least city of the Dukedom of Milan, and is a great circuit about; a fair town, and rich of merchandise, but of no great force. It hath a notable castle in it. There is no ordnance in any town through the whole Dukedom, as we rode, but all in the castle as I could perceive. The Lords viewed this castle, but no Italian was suffered to go in with them, three or four of the chief only excepted, that did accompany them. At their going out, the castle shot off their small and great pieces. We tarried here the 23d day. This day Il Conte Despesiano Porzenno married the sister of Signior Camillo Stanga, a very honest gentleman. Divers of the Lords Gentlemen were bidden thither by this young Count to dinner and supper, and there danced with the Ladies. This country and Dukedom is wonderful pleasant, and so replenished with corn, vines, fruit, pasture and meadow, all the ground being so level, and so well watered, that the like is not to be seen in any one country again, so long together. In this town is a notable strong castle. The Lords viewed this castle, and at their coming out, there was store of great and small shot, to give the Lords an honourable farewell.

From Cremona to Caneto, twenty-two miles, through a town named Salra Terra, passing over the river Oglio by boat. This river parteth the Dukedom of Milane, and the Dukedom of Mantua; in this town the Lords lay at the Duke's charges.

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From Caneto to Mantua, twenty miles; over the river of Chiese, through a town called Aqua Negra, where we saw men whip themselves with chains, going after a procession. We passed through a town called Andadefco, and by our Lady of Mantua her chapel, where is the greatest offering in those parts of Italy. There they shew pictures of men, which she preserved (as they say), that were stricken into brains and hearts, and in at the backs, with swords and daggers; and where is also such wonderful works of wax, as I never saw the like again. Mantua is a notable strong city, environed with great lakes and marshes. The Duke met with the Lords in the city, and brought them to their lodgings, which was in an old palace of the Duke's. This Duke is very young, and looketh a little asquint. Here the Lords were greatly feasted at the Duke's charge. After supper, they went to the Court to deliver the Queen's letters, and there we saw the Duke's grandmother, his mother's sister, the wife of Gonzaga, and his daughter, and one other lady called Hippolita, one of the fairest ladies in the world. After compliments of salutation, the Lords had a banquet, in the which were green almonds, the first that ever I saw; we were brought into the Dutchess's jewel houses, which exceeded in rich jewels, as agates, sapphires, diamonds, an unicorn's horn, a tree of red coral an ell long; here we saw also a beast called the tyger.

From Mantua to Ostia, twenty miles; over a bridge at Mantua, a quarter of a mile long; passing by the end of the river of Mewse, which runneth into the river of Po, upon the which, this town standeth. On the other side of the river standeth a fair town of the Duke of Ferrara, called Renache.

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From Ostia to Ferrara, thirty miles; riding twelve miles by the river Po, and then passed it in a boat, and dined that day in a post-house, being ten miles of this side of Ferrara. After dinner towards Ferrara, within two miles of it, an Earl of the country met with the Lords, and brought them within the city. Then the Prince met with them, and brought them to their lodgings, to a fair house of the Duke's, richly furnished and hanged. The pavements of the house were of such curious works, of white marble, red, and black, that it is impossible to find fairer. The borders of the chambers and chimnies, of such jasper stone that they might be . . . There is also a closet, wherein are such curious works of all kind of marble, and other stone, and all of the Duke's father's doings, as they cannot be mended. This city is very strong, for they may drown the country round about them. The town walls are very thick, and the ramparts twenty-five yards broad. There be two castles in the city, the one in the midst of the town, and the other standing upon the river of Po, both of great strength. The town ditch is one hundred yards over. There are three thousand Jews in the city and above, having a temple and school, after their own laws. They keep the Saturday for their Sabbath. Their market is kept upon the Sunday, with fish, herbs, and other things, till twelve o'clock at noon. Upon the Sunday they eat nothing but fish, and that which was dressed the day before; neither do they touch any money that day. Here the Ambassadors were honourably feasted, at the Duke's charges, and lodged in his palace, the Prince keeping them company all the time; the Duke himself was at Rome at the consecration of the Pope. The streets of this town be very wide, and full of excellent good building: there was a camel in this town to be seen. That day before dinner, the Lords and Gentlemen being mounted upon the Duke's horses, excellently well trimmed, the Prince and Gentlemen rode about one part of the wall, shewing them the commodities of the town. After dinner, they were brought about the other

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part of the walls, where they saw such wonderful pleasures, and strange things, that it was wonderful to behold; after the which, they had a very notable banquet; the heavenly noise that was there, as well with strange instruments of music, as otherwise, I cannot declare. The truth is, our entertainment here, did far exceed the best entertainment the Lords had other where. The Duke's name is Hercules d'Este, and the other Prince his son, Alphonso, who is as worthy a Prince as may be seen, and of as goodly a personage. Here we saw a tortoise a yard long and more, and half a yard broad. We met the Duke coming homewards to Ferrara, who, when he met the Lords, saluted them very lovingly, and said, he was sorry he was not at home, to make them better cheer. The Lords staid at Ferrara the 26th day.

From Ferrara to St. Petro in Casale, twenty miles; over the river of Po, riding about six miles within the Duke of Ferrara his liberties. After that, we came into the Pope's dominions, where the Vicelegate sent a gentleman to provide for the Lords and their train at his charges. It is but a small town, insomuch that the train was dispersed this night into three several places, some two miles, some three miles off, the lodgings there were so scant. Pope Marcellus Secundus was then alive.

From St. Petro to Bononia, ten miles, being met with several trains of Noblemen and Gentlemen, with trumpets and drums, and so brought into the town; but before we could recover the town gates, a mighty tempest of rain poured down upon us. At the gates of the town, the Vice Legate and the Bishop of Bononia, with a great company of horsemen, met the Lords, and brought them to the Vice Legate's house, where they were lodged. Notwithstanding this extreme shower of rain, the trumpeters stood over the gates of the Vice Legate's house, and blew a long time, until we were all alighted. And when the Ambassadors went to supper, there was excellent music of lower instruments. The next day being the first of May, there was in the morning brought in a brave May, with a number

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of shot and pikes, well appointed, marching into the market place, all being the Vice Legate's men, to the number of sixty.

About ten o'clock this forenoon, there was an officer brought in, according to the custom of the town, who is, as it were, the President of the Council there. There are twenty-four of the Council, whereof the President is chosen at the end of twenty-four days, and entereth not into his office, till the end of forty-six days. You shall understand, that when he entereth into his office, he is fetched from his own house very honourably, by him that occupied the place before him, with all the rest of the Council, as also with the Vice Legate's guard, and so brought into the palace, where he is put into a chamber, having but two men waiting upon him, and to abide there to the end of two months without coming out, and in all that time, neither his wife, his children, friends, nor servants may speak with him. He is largely allowed for his diet, and keepeth a good table, being as well served, as lodged, as if he were in his own house.

The second day a post came from Rome, that brought the Lords word, of the death of Pope Marcellus Secundus, and that he died the last of April. A sight of worshipful relicks to be seen in Bononia. The body of St. Dominick, the body of St. Rutherin, and a piece of the crown of thorns, wherewith Christ was crowned. To this town cometh a small river called Rheno; the town is great, and hath thirteen gates in it. It is fair built, and with such vaults, that in the greatest rain and foulest weather, men go dry, and are also defended from the heat of the sun. The Vice Legate is Bishop of
and hath a guard of Launceknights * well appointed for his guard; other soldiers there be none in the town, except when it is Sedia Vacante, (that is to say) when there is no Pope. The Pope being dead, ten of the gates are kept shut, and eight hundred soldiers appointed, to watch and ward, in divers places of the town; for at that time misdoers and offenders think themselves without a

* German Infantry;—the proper term is *Landknecht*, from whence the French *Lansquenets*, and our English corruption of the word, as in the text.

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law. As for example, when Julius Tertius died, there came a banished man to the city with four hundred foldiers, and to have done much mischief there. He was let into the town, himself taken and beheaded, and all his men taken and slain. The Lords were very greatly feasted at the Pope's charges all the time they lay in Bononia, Bologna, and so were they invited to Noblemen's houses of the city, and were greatly entertained by them. Two noblemen of the town (Rillades and Mallvachall) were at deadly war. We remained at Bononia thirteen days together.

From Bononia to Imola, twenty miles; over the river of Quaderno leaving St. Pietro, a town on our right hand, which hath a castle in it, but of no great strength. The Lords, viz. the Bishop of Ely, and Lord Montagu, they took their journey to see Fiorenza. Dr. Kearne, the Leger Ambassador from Rome, he with all the carriage, and the greatest part of the train, departed from the Lords, and took his journey through la Romagna, to Rome.

From Imola to Faenza, ten miles; over the river Amone, which keepeth no certain course, but sometimes very great, another time very small, passing the castle Bolognese, an old walled town. The Lords of the town met my Lord Ambassador two miles without the town, and brought him to the Pope's palace, where he was lodged, with trumpets and drums before him. The town defrayed him, and all the train, at their charges. The commodity and profit of this town standeth by making of cotton, and making many sundry things in fine mell and earth*.

From Faenza to Forli, ten miles; being met without the town as before, and lodged in the palace at the town's charge. In the market place, when the Ambassador came unto it, there were harquebusses of crocke, and other shot, discharged. There is a very strong castle in the town, standing upon the river of Montone, the which cometh from the mountains. The castle hath great lodgings in it,

* Earthen ware called *Fayence* in French, as being made at Faenza. The word *mell*, means enamell. See Dict. de Trevoux, *mail & email*.

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and store of great ordnance. It was built by Julius Caesar, and is called after his name; Castello Julio.

From Forli to Cesena, ten miles; passing over the river Ronco with a boat, and by a castle named Framole, leaving a strong town standing on the right hand upon the side of a hill, with a castle on the top of it called Bartinore. The Leger Ambassador was received into this town as before, and lodged at the palace at the town's charges. There is a castle in this town, situated upon a hill adjoining to the palace: there cometh a river called Rubicon: the boys of the town being a great number, met my Lord Ambassador without the town gate, crying Viva Inghilterra (as much as to say) God save England; every one of them brought an olive branch in their hands.

From Cesena to Rimino, twenty miles; leaving a town called Archangelo on the right hand. Here the Ambassador was received and lodged as before, at the palace, at the charge of the town. It standeth upon the sea named Il Golpho di Venetia, and hath a small haven pertaining unto it; the town itself is of no force, but the castle in it is very strong.

From Rimino to Pesaro, the chiefest town of the Dukedom of Urbino, twenty miles. The young Prince (the Duke of Urbin's son) was determined to have met the Ambassador, but being prevented by his sudden coming, he met with him at the stairs feet in the hall, and then received him very honourably, and brought him up to his lodging, which was very richly hanged, and there we were notably feasted, all at the Duke's charges. After dinner, the Dutche's mother sent for all the Gentlemen of our train, into a withdrawing chamber, where we found her sitting in a rich chair, the Prince her son standing by her, and a great number of Ladies and Gentlewomen sitting about her. After we had all humbly done our duty unto her Grace, as many of us as could speak Italian, or French, went to entertain these Ladies and Gentlewomen. The rest of us, that had no language to entertain them with, yet sat down amongst them,

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them, to behold (as *spectatores formarum*) the glory of their surpassing beauties. This heavenly and angelic troop of Ladies being thus accommodated, and we greatly graced by their honourable presence, on the sudden they were presented with the music of the virginals, lute and viol. Then the young Prince took one of his play-fellows by the hand, and danced the *paven* with him, and afterwards a galliard; which being ended, the Prince entreated our Gentlemen that could dance, to take out a Lady or Gentlewoman to dance withal, and so they did. The dancing ended, we departed out of the chamber, and there left the Dutchess with the Ladies. This young Prince is not past ten years of age, but he is well favoured, and excellently made in all his parts of his body. The town is not strong, but yet wanting no ordnance; of small circuit, but very well built, and paved with brick throughout. It standeth upon the forenamed sea, having a pretty haven, and a pleasant country joining unto it.

From Pefaro to Fossebrone, twenty-six miles, leaving Fano, a fair town on the left hand, by the sea-side. The Ambassador was lodged at the Duke's palace, and there defrayed by the Duke. The town standeth betwixt the mountains. Betwixt Fano and Fossebrone, there runneth a river caled Il Metro, where is a goodly plain, and there was a great battle fought betwixt the Romans and the Africans, where were slain 53,000 Africans, and 9000 Romans.

From Fossebrone to Cantiano, twenty miles, through a park of the Duke's, with fallow deer in it, three miles from Fossebrone, which was the first park we saw in all Italy before: from the park to Furlo, two miles, passing through a rock smoothly cut out, and close over our heads, made by man's hand, for Hannibal to bring his army that way against Scipio Africanus; so to Acqualagna, and thence to Caglie, through the town, and so to Cantiano, all the way of an huge height, between mountains and rock, twenty miles. This town is but little, standing amongst the mountains, here all our charges were defrayed by the Duke.

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From Cantiano to Sigillo, twelve miles, over great mountains, passing by Schiecoia, the last town of the Duke of Urbine's, two miles from Sigillo. This town is the Pope's, there we tarried the 23d and 24th day.

From Sigillo to Perugia, twenty-two miles, very ill and dangerous way. Here the Lords met all three together again. The Pope's Vice-Legate there, more for shame than for any good-will he bare to the Lords, met them without the town gates, and brought them to the abby of St. Augustine's without the town, where they were lodged. The town is very great, and hath a marvellous strong castle in it, built by Pope Paulus Tertius. The people be all French in their hearts. For three nights together fires were made, as well upon the walls of the castle, as in other places in the town, only for joy of a new Pope * Paulus Quartus. The great pieces of ordnance, and small shot, shot off, brave and great fireworks besides in the air. The cause of this their great joy was supposed to be, because the Pope was French in heart, and enemy to the emperor, notwithstanding he was a Neopolitan before born. Here we remained the 26th day: on this day all the trumpeters and drummers came to visit the Lords, and began to play; but answer was sent from the Lords, that with what friendship they were received and lodged, with the like they should receive their reward. Then they departed in great spite and anger, striking upon their drum heads as hard as they could lay on, they being twelve drums in number. That day, at five o'clock at night, the Vice Legate sent a present to the Lords, viz. three dozen and a half of capons, six dozen of rabbets, fifteen weathers and lambs, a veal, and thirty-two sacks of barley, and oats for their horses; but forasmuch as it was known to the Lords that the Legate had intelligence of their departure the next morning following, and considering how ungentlely they had been used before, they refused the present, rendering few thanks. This evening, the Vice Legate sent the soldiers

* Caraffa.

of the town, being six hundred, marching in rank to the Lords lodging, and there to honour them; they gave three several volleys of shot, and so departed, without reward given them.

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Here we saw a special relick forsooth of our Lady's, a ring, the first (they stick not to say) that ever she did wear, which is not shewed, I tell you, without great ceremony. This ring is a great ring, all of black horn, and hangeth in a pix within a tabernacle, being clad with two or three fold of lawn: that is seen in mystery as all other relicks be. When it is shewed to any body, there is a wonderful much blessing; kissing, kneeling and knocking; and upon either side of the tabernacle is a great bason, in the which two or three children of five or six years old, do sit, and are let down in the bason; then the ring is to be shewed to any body. They make us believe forsooth, that these children are not by meat or drink, but are marvelously fed by the Holy Ghost.

From Perugia to Foligni, eighteen miles; leaving a town on our left hand, called Assisi. There was a great market fair at that time we were there. The town of Foligni standeth in a fair plain, having great mountains on both sides of it.

From Foligni to Spoleto, twelve miles, leaving a town named Trevi on the left hand. Spoleto hath a castle in it, standing upon a hill, which commandeth the town and the people. Here the Lords remained five days, even till the third of June, on which day they went from thence.

The 29th, the Lords received letters out of England, dated the 14th of May. This town standeth between the mountains, as far east as can be travelled that way. The Cardinal of Perugia is Governor of this town. The people are very proud and beggarly, and of no civility; great boasters, but of no activity; and much given to secret murder, and privy s—y. The villany is such, and they so much born and maintained in it, that a boy being, as they term it, dishonoured

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noured by his like, he will ever after seek the death of his dishonourer. As for example, at our being in the town, two school boys, one of them bearing malice to the other, coming into the school, and finding there the other boy his enemy, that had dishonoured him, he suddenly cast a ball of lead at him, and hit him over the head, that he amazed him, and having brought a dagger, he stabbed the boy to the heart, so that he died: the fact was not unpunished, as I did learn afterwards of certain. O what good justice is executed in this town, and offenders punished to the uttermost, as ye may hear, to the good example of other!

From Spoleto to Narni, eighteen miles; through a town named Terni, twelve miles on the way. A mile without the town, the Bishop of Sullino met the Lords with four hundred soldiers, who was sent of purpose to bring them to the place where they should dine, at the Pope's charge; there the soldiers blew off their pieces and departed. After dinner the Lords were brought out of the town in the like manner as they were received into it. The river of Nera runneth on the south side of the town. This town is well stored with great ordnance and small shot; the castle in it standeth upon a very high hill, and the town upon the side of a hill, and a goodly plain on the one side, and great mountains on the other side. When we came near to Narni, the Legate met the Lords a mile without the town, as before, and brought them to their lodgings, lying at the Pope's charges, and had a present sent them from the Legate of the town. In the time of *sedia vacante*, which is when there is no Pope, Narni and Terni be at great wars together.

From Narni to Rignano, twenty miles, passing over the river of Tyber with a boat, to a town named Borgetto, where the Lords dined at the Pope's charges. The Lords train were lodged in field inns, and could not be suffered to come within the town gates; but the reason of it, I could never yet learn.

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From Rignano to Rome, twenty-two miles; passing through a town called Castello Novo, eight miles from Rignano, and so forth to La Prima Porta 7. M. where the Lords dined at the Pope's charges, and thence to Rome, being seven miles. This Prima Porta, hath the name of the first old gate in Rome, when Rome flourished, as appeareth by the old ruins of the walls. After dinner, within a mile of Rome, we passed over a bridge called Ponte Mole, over the river of Tyber, and rode to a house without the city, which Pope Julius Tertius built, where the Lords rested themselves, and had a banquet. This house is of an excellent building, and hath such a notable commodity in it, all of which marble, so curiously wrought, so replenished with strange fruits, and furnished with antiquities, that be daily digged up in the ruins of old Rome, and some found in the river of Tyber, in such sort, that it doth far exceed all the buildings that ever I saw, except the Charter House beside Pavia. Amongst which antiquities there are two marble pillars, of such mixture of colours, white and black, being five cubits long, and a yard about in the greatest part, which two pillars, Pope Julius Tertius would not have given for one million of gold, and are of many men esteemed at a 100,000 crowns. After that the Lords had rested themselves in this vineyard three or four hours, there came now one nobleman, then another, and sometimes five or six together, so that there were sixteen Bishops. The Cardinals they sent their pledges, riding upon their mules, having their master's hanging behind them on their backs, their mules being bravely furnished, and they were in number thirty-five. The Pope sent also the officers of his Court, to bring in the Lords into the city, besides his guard to wait upon them: and last of all came a Bishop that represented the Pope's Holiness, who was accordingly honoured of the Lords: so about six o'clock at night, the Lords were brought into Rome in very good order, and so conveyed to their lodgings, with trumpets and drums before them, in a fair palace, having in train 1000 horses and

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mules.

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mules, where Cardinal Pigio lay, which rented of the D. of Parma, and removed himself, leaving it unto the Lords. Here the Lords lay at their own charges. This palace was of old time the bath or thermes of Julius Cæsar, as in William Thomas's book of the description of Italy ye may read of thermes and baths*.

The two former Popes, Julius Tertius, and Marcellus Secundus, had made great provision for the Lords in the palace of St. Mark; the which provision this new-created Pope, Paulus Quartus, did spend and eat himself. The eighth day at night, the Lords were sent for, and had secret audience, but no Englishman suffered to come into the chamber. The 9th day in the morning, Cardinal Caraffa, the Pope's Nephew, newly made Cardinal on the 7th day, sent the Lords a present, three veals, three great Parmesan cheefes made in Rome, three dozen of capons and chickens, fifty-two spades of bacon, and torches of virgin's wax, twenty-four pounds of candles of virgin's wax, ten sugar loaves, six tons of wine, fifty quarters of barley, and oats for their horses.

The 10th day, the Lords went to the Court, accompanied with divers Bishops, Noblemen and Gentlemen, and there had open audience. As they passed by the castle of St. Angelo, the Lords were saluted with a great peal of ordnance.

The Pope sat in a conclave, where he was chosen, in a great high chair, having a very rich cope upon him, and a mitre of a wonderful price upon his head. The place where he sat was railed in, that the people might not come and trouble the Orator. The Cardinals sat in benches, within the rails, round about the Pope's Holiness; the Bishop underneath them, and the Pope's servants lay upon the ground. After my Lord my Master, the Lord Bishop of Ely†, had ended his oration made to the Pope, then all the Englishmen of the Lords train were called for, and let come within the rails, to kiss the Pope's

* The Editor has seen this description, which is very inferior to later accounts, and curious only as the hint.

† Dr. Thirlby.

Holinefs's foot, who had a crimson velvet slipper on, that had a crofs of silver laid upon it. That done, the Pope blessed them, and so they departed sanctified.

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The 11th day, the Lords invited divers Cardinals, and at the Cardinal of Pisa's house, I saw a live ostrich, and plucked a white feather from it.

The 12th day in the morning, the Lords heard a dirge mass, at the Spanish church, for the Emperor's mother, where we had every one of us a taper given us, to hold all mass time in our hands. This day dined with the Cardinal Caraffa, at a place called Belvedere, as much as to say, fair to look on, so called, because it standeth in so good an air, and hath the most pleasant prospects of all the palaces which are in Rome. After dinner, the Lords went to visit other Cardinals which lay in the Pope's Court, and so went up to the chamber of presence, to wait upon the Pope, that came out to even-song. When they came first into the presence, they found but one Cardinal there, who very curiously entertained them. Afterwards there came two of the Cardinals together, and sometimes three, and so came till they made the number of thirty: and ever as they came over the bridge of St. Angelo, whether it were one, two, or three Cardinals together, so many as they were, so many pieces of ordnance were shot off the castle for an hour. That the Pope is bound to observe to his well beloved brethren, whensoever they pass the bridge, whether they come to the Court or no. Also, as the Cardinals do come to the outer gates of the Pope's palace, a drum and fife do give warning of their coming. Within half an hour after the Cardinals were come into the presence chamber, there came the Pope's Holinefs out of his privy chamber among them. They all rising up at the sight of him, bowed themselves, ducking friar fashion, and the Pope likewise to them again. Then he being led by two Cardinals to a little side table in the chamber, they both did help him to put on his robes, pertaining to his Holinefs. His robes being put on him, he went on this manner

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towards

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towards the chapel to Even-song, attended upon as followeth : First, the officers of his household, being a great number, before him, all in scarlet gowns. After them followed two, carrying each of them a mitre, and two officers next them with silver rods in their hands. Then the Cardinals having a cross borne before them, and every Cardinal his several pillar borne next before himself. After them cometh the Pope's Holiness in a chair of crimson velvet, wrought with gold, having sixteen more spare men waiting upon the chair. Thus going to the chapel, two servants going before him, crying still Abasso, Abasso (which is to say, kneel down, Masters), he sitting, blessing all the way as he went to Even-song ; which being done, the Pope returned, in like manner, to his chamber again.

The next day, being the 13th, his Holiness went through St. Peter's church to Mass, to the chapel of St. Peter, in like manner as before, saving that he had two triple crowns borne before him, of an inestimable value, which he had not before. So Mass being said, he went in procession, in this order following : First, went the Friars, and every parish by themselves with their cross, all having white torches in their hands. Next to them followed the Pope's officers all in scarlet gowns and black velvet coats ; then the Priests and singing men of the Pope's chapel ; then Bishops, to the number of fifty-eight, all of them having mitres of white linen cloth on their heads, and copes on their backs. After them followed the Cardinals, having mitres of white damask, and tunicles upon their backs, with their crosses and pillars borne before them, as above said. Then came the Pope's Holiness, and next before him went the guard, being a great number, the Pope being carried in his chair as before mentioned, having a little table before him, whereupon stood the sacrament, and two men going before him with great broad fans made of peacocks tails, to keep the sun and flies from his holy face. The most part of his Cardinals had also the like fans before them. After the Pope, followed a troop of light horsemen, to the number

of

of sixty-four, well armed and appointed. And thus was the order of the Pope's going in procession. Now, at the Pope's setting out of the gates of his palace with the procession, all the Pope's trumpeters stood there and sounded. Then was there a warning piece shot off to the castle of St. Angelo, whereupon the castle gave a great peal of ordnance, which continued a long time.

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To write any thing of the antiquities of Rome, I thought it needless, considering they are truly and notably set forth in William Thomas's book, of the Description of Italy. We remained at Rome fourteen days.

The sixteenth day the Lords dined and supped with the Pope at the palace of St. Mark. After dinner they went to visit the Cardinals they had not spoken with before, and the same night they took their leave of the Pope, who gave my Lord Montague a table diamond, with a ring, esteemed at 2000 crowns; and my Lord of Ely my master, a cross of gold. They made great bonfires in Rome, because we were reconciled to the church of Rome, and the castle shot off much ordnance. We saw a world of relicks, very ridiculous and incredible, viz. the picture of Christ, called La Sudaria, lively as he was upon the earth. One of the nails that Christ was nailed with to the cross. The stairs Christ went up on going to be examined and judged of Pilate; upon which stairs he had a fall; and with his elbow, to save himself, he made a great hole in the stairs, the which is covered over with a grate of silver; unto the which there is made a great offering. The table that Christ made his last supper upon with his disciples. The crown of thorns wherewith Christ was crowned, upon the cross, *cum multis aliis quæ per- scribere longum est.*

Note here, the whole number of miles from London to Rome. Accounting the leagues in France two English miles a league, and those in Savoy and Piedmont, at three every league, though some miles in Savoy be more; yet because the Italian miles be shorter

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than the English, I let them borrow of the leagues in Savoy, accounting all as English miles; by which account, all together make up one thousand one hundred and fifty-eight miles.

The End of our Journey to Rome.

Our Journey from Rome, through Germany, and so to London.

FROM Rome to Rignano, twenty miles. From Rignano to Narni, twenty miles. From Narni to Spoleto, eighteen miles. From Spoleto to Foligni, twelve miles. From Foligni to Sigillo, twenty-four miles; to Nocera to dinner, twelve miles. From Sigillo to Urbino, twenty-two miles; and to Caglie to dinner, seventeen miles.

This town is the principal town of the Duke's, and standeth upon the top of a high hill, but of no great strength. The Duke was in the town at our coming thither.

There we saw Polydore Virgilius' grave, who died not passing a month before we came thither. Here they all remained one day, which was the 26th.

From Urbino to Rimino, twenty-four miles, calling at Montefiore, to dinner, twelve miles. From Rimino to Cesena, twenty miles. From Cesena to Imola, thirty miles. From Imola to Bononia, twenty miles; where we staid the first day of July. From Bononia to Crocetta, fourteen miles, by a castle named St. Zunan, of great force, and well watered. From Crocetta to Concordia, twenty-five miles, passing over the river of Panaro upon a bridge in a little village called Bonporto, riding a long time the river of Secchia, which cometh to this town, and meeteth the Po ten miles from Concordia. This town belongeth to the Principality of Mirandula, and was burnt three years past by the Pope Julius, with others for displeasure.

From

From Concordia to Mantua, twenty-two miles, passing the river of Secchia, riding through a town called St. Benedetto, where we passed the river of Po. There we inned at the Black Morian.

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The Duke of Mantua his revenue by year, was but one thousand ducats, but afterwards the Duke his father increased it thirty thousand ducats more, by marriage with a Nobleman's daughter in Italy, an heiress. The Duke that is now, was but the second brother. He is very uncomely of person, squint-eyed, crook-backed, and but fifteen years old.

His elder brother was drowned by misfortune, being a fishing in a boat, in the lake that is about the town. The third brother was put to the King's Court to learn French; but the French King will no more let him come home as yet; some think he will marry to one of his daughters, that after the decease of the Duke his brother, he being the next heir, might enjoy the Dukedom of Mantua. The fourth brother is a Bishop. The Duke's uncle being Cardinal of Mantua, is Governor of this town. Here I saw a mill to wind silk, which was a notable piece of work.

From Mantua to Bosolingo, twenty-two miles, through a town called Villa Franca, a streight, by which they must pass that come from Mantua to Venice by land, or from Mantua to Trent; in the which streight are such exceptions as I have not known before; for no man can pass that way, but he must pay the value of an English penny, and yet is it not gathered for the repairing of an high-way or bridges. There be two men that farm this streight of the Venetians yearly, for one hundred and fifty crowns. By this town runneth the river of Adige, the swiftest river that ever I saw, which falleth into the gulph of Venice.

From Bosolingo to Paw, twenty-two miles, passing over the river of Adige, and riding through two towns, Sereigne and Bergetto, standing both between mountains, upon the river of Adige. At Sereigne is a streight called La Chiufa, having notable rocks on the one side

of

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of it, and the river on the other side, being well fortified with ordnance and munition, as the Venetians have all their ports for the most part, so that there is very hard passage without licence. These two towns Bergetto and Paw, belong to the King of the Romans. The Cardinal of Trent is Governor of them.

From Paw to Trent, twenty-two miles, riding all the way by the river of Adige, and between mountains, passing through a goodly town of the King of the Romans, called Roveredo, where we dined at the sign of the Star. It hath in it a very strong castle standing upon a rock. Trent standeth upon the river of Adige, but it is of no force, neither great, nor much fair building in it, his own palace or castle excepted, which is wonderful beautiful, and very richly furnished. The Cardinal is absolute Lord and Governor of the town; he hath a guard of fifty men to wait upon him, besides a great number of gentlemen and other servitors. He is a Dutchman born, and cometh of a very noble house; but in his house-keeping, he sheweth himself an Italian, to keep bare cheer, and a mean table; notwithstanding this Cardinal is more honourably served in his house, for the cheer he keepeth, than any other that I have seen, and is very rich. I saw two ostriches at his house, the one russet, the other black. Here we saw a child, whom the Jews had martyred many years past, all his body pricked with needles. We inned at the sign of the Rose, and remained there three days, the 8th, 9th, and 10th.

The rest of the journey homewards is omitted as not material.

No. VI.

Letters concerning Calais.

[Queen Mary said, during her last illness, that after she was dead, they would find Calais lying at her heart.—It appears from the papers contained in this article, which have been thought to deserve publication, that the loss of it, which happened soon after, was owing to the negligence of her Council, in not supplying that place and Guisnes, with sufficient garrisons and ammunition.]

The Council of Calais to the Queen.

1557.
May 23.

IT may please your Highness to understand. That where, upon circumspect consideration and view of your Majesty's store here of munition and other habiliments for war, there is presently found not only a great want in many kinds thereof, but also such a decay in divers other things, as the same are not serviceable, and will be utterly lost if they be not with speed repaired and put in better estate; as this bearer, Mr. Highfield, master of your ordnance here, can declare more amply the particularities thereof, either unto your Majesty, or unto such of your Council, as shall please your Highness to direct him; we have thought it our bounden duties to be most humble suitors unto your Majesty, that it would please the same to give immediate order, as well for the supplement of the said lacks, as also for your warrant to be addressed hither, for the repairing of all other things requisite to be done within his office.

And thus we continually pray Almighty God for the long preservation of your Highness in most prosperous estate. From your town of Calais the 23d of May 1557.

I

Your Majesty's, &c.

MARY.

1557.
Decemb. 27.*Lord Wentworth, Lord Grey, &c. to the Queen.*

OUR bounden duties most humbly remembered unto your Highness; Upon the receipt of the intelligences sent unto your Majesty this other day, from me your Grace's deputy, I forthwith dispatched to my Lord Grey, requiring his Lordship to repair to this town, that we might together consult of the state of your Highness's places and country on this side. So his Lordship coming hither, we have conferred together our several intelligences, and finding the same in effect to agree, it hath very much augmented our suspicion, that this train now meant by the enemy should be made towards your Highness's country or places. Whereupon we all together have considered the state of the same, and said our opinions therein, as it may appear unto your Highness by these articles we send herewith to your Majesty, which we have thought our duties to signify unto you. Most humbly beseeching your Highness to return unto us your pleasure therein. So we pray Jesu grant your Majesty long and prosperous reign. At your town of Calais, 27th Dec. 1557.

Your Highness's, &c.

Our Consultation made the 27th Decem. 1557.

FIRST, Having no supplement of men other than is presently there, we think it meetest, if the enemy should give the attempt, to abandon the town (which could not be without very great danger of the castle), and defend the turnpike, which is of the more importance, because that way only, in necessity, the relief to the castle is to be looked for.

Item, There is great want of wheat, butter, cheese, and other victuals.

Item,

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1557.

Item, It is requisite to have some men of estimation and service to be there, that might be able to take the charge in hand, if either sickness or other accident should fortune to me the Lord Grey; which I the said Lord Grey the rather require by reason of Sir Henry Palmer's hurt, being of any other person at this present utterly unfurnished.

HAMPNES CASTLE.

Item, We think the same sufficiently furnished of men for the sudden; albeit, this hard and frosty weather, if it continue, will give the enemy great advantage, yet we put in as much water as is possible.

Of victuals, that place is utterly unprovided, except the Captain's store.

It is also thought meet to have there some man of estimation and service, for the respects contained in the article of Guisnes, which also the Lord Dudley requires.

NEWMAMBRIDGE.

Item, We think it meet, upon the occasion to withdraw the bands from the Causeway thither; and then are of opinion, the same to be sufficient to defend that place for a season, unless the enemy shall get between this town and the bridge.

It is clean without victuals other than the Captain's own provision.

RYSBANK.

Because that place standeth upon the sea, and by the shore side may the enemy come in a night to it, we think it meet to appoint thither a band of the low country under the leading of Capt. Dodd. It is altogether unfurnished of victuals, other than for the Captain's own store.

P

CALAIS.

Item,

MARY.

1557.

CALAIS.

Whereas all your Majesty's places on this side make account to be furnished of victuals and other necessaries from hence; it is so, that of victuals your Highness hath presently none here, and also this town hath none, by reason that the restraint in the realm hath been so strait, as the victuallers as were wont to bring daily hither good quantities of butter, cheefe, bacon, wheat, and other things, might not of late be suffered to have any recourse hither, whereby is grown a very great scarcity of all such things here.

Finally, forasmuch as all the wealth and substance of your Majesty's whole dominion on this side, is now in your low country, a thing not unknown to the enemy, and if with this his great power coming down (as the bruit goeth), for the victualling of Arde, he will give attempt upon your Highness's country, we do not see that the small number here (in respect of their force) can by any means defend it. And if we should stand to resist their entry into the country, and there receive any loss or overthrow, the country should nevertheless be overrun and spoiled, and besides it would set the enemy in a glory, and also be the more peril to your Highness's places. We therefore upon the necessity, think it meet to gather all our men into strengths, and with the same to defend your places to the uttermost; notwithstanding all the power on this side is far insufficient to defend the places, in case the enemy shall tarry any space in the field.

WENTWORTH, GREY, &c.

MARY.

1557-8.

January 1.

The Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Calais, to the Queen.

IT may please your Highness. Having retired the Bands from the Causeway the last night, and placed them at the bridge, and within the brayes; this morning early I returned them to the said Causeway, to defend that passage in case the enemy would attempt to enter there, and also to offer skirmish to take some of them, and to learn somewhat of their power. Between nine and ten the enemy showed in a very great bravery about six ensigns of footmen, and certain horsemen, and came from the chaulk pitts down the hill towards the causeway. Whereupon some of ours issued and offered the skirmish, but the enemy would in no wise seem to meddle. During this their stillness, they caused about two hundred Harquebusers to cut over the marshes from Sandgate, and get between ours and the bridge, and then to have hotly set on them on both sides. In this time also, at a venture, I had caused your Majesty's Marshall with the horsemen to go abroad, and maintain the skirmish with the footmen, and by that the Marshall came there, the enemy's Harquebusers that passed the marshes were discovered, and ours suddenly took a very honest retire, which the enemies on the land side perceiving, came on, both horsemen and footmen, marvellous hotly; to whom ours gave divers onsets, continually skirmishing till they came to the bridge, and there reposed themselves. The bridge bestowed divers shot upon the enemy, and hurt some. Of ours, thanked be God, none slain nor hurt, but a man at arms stricken in the leg with a currior. The alarm continued till one o'clock in the afternoon, before the end whereof our enemy's number increased; for eleven ensigns more of footmen came in sight, and three troops of horsemen; besides, the alarm went round about our country at that instant, even from Sandgate to Guisnes, and bands of the enemy at

MARY.
1557-8.

every passage. They have gotten Froyton church, and plant themselves at all the streights into this country. The bulwarks of Froyton and Nesse have this day done their duty very well, to whom I have this afternoon sent aid of men, and some shot and powder. Howbeit I am in some doubt of Nesse this night.

I am perfectly advertised their number of horsemen and footmen already arrived, is above 12,000, whereof little less have come in sight here. The Duke of Guise is not yet arrived, but hourly looked for with a more number. This evening I have discovered five hundred waggons laden with victual and munition, and have further perfect intelligence, that thirty cannons be departed from Boulogne hitherwards. They are settled at Sandgate, Galley Moat, Causeway, Froyton, Calkewell, Nesse, and Syntrecafe. At one o'clock after midnight, I look for them, being low water at the passage over the haven. Thus having set all things in the best order I can, I make an end of three days work, and leave your Majesty to consider for our speedy succour. Beseeching God to grant your Highness victory, with long and prosperous reign. At your town of Calais, this New Year's Day, at nine in the night, 1557.

I have received your Majesty's letter by the Master of the Ordinance, who came in this morning. The contents whereof I will follow as near as I can.

Your Highness's most

humble and obedient

servant and subject,

WENTWORTH.

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MARY.

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January 2.

Lord Wentworth to the Queen.

AFTER my humble duty remembered, it may please your Highness, this last night our enemies lay still, without any thing attempting in the places mentioned in my last letters, as we did well perceive during the whole night, by great fires made in the same places.

This morning early, I put out fresh footmen to the bridge, to relieve the watched men. About nine o'clock, the enemies in very great number approached the bridge, and offered the skirmish; whereupon issued out some of our Harquebusiers and Bowmen, and kept them in play, with the help of the shot from the bridge, more than an hour; and in the end, being overmatched with multitude, made their retire within the turnpike without any loss or hurt. The enemies shadowing themselves under the turnpike wall, with their curriers (which assuredly shot very great bullets, and carry far) kept themselves in such surety, as our pieces of the bridge could not annoy them, till at eleven o'clock, certain of ours bored holes with auger through the turnpike, and with harquebusses beat them out into the shot of ordnance, and so made them retire to the Causeway.

This forenoon certain Swisses and Frenchmen, to the number of five hundred, got within the marshes between Froyton and Nesse bulwarks; and the men of the bulwarks seeing themselves to be compassed on all sides, and seeing also that time yet served them well to depart, and fearing they should not so do, if they tarried till they were assailed on both sides (as they could not indeed) forsook their bulwarks, and right manfully, notwithstanding the enemies between them and home, saved themselves through the marshes. In the

MARY.
1557-8.

retire of the enemies, one Cookson, a man at arms, and few other soldiers, with the countrymen, rescued most part of the booty (which was certain kine) and took three prisoners of the Captain of Abbeville's band. The report of this enterprize of the enemy being brought to me; fearing Colham Hill, I forthwith appointed your Majesty's Marshal with the Horsemen, and two hundred footmen, to repair thither, and as they should see their match, so to demean themselves. Ere these men had marched a quarter of a mile, the enemies were retired out of the country, upon occasion, that wading as they entered in up to the girdle stead, and perceiving the water to increase, thought good to make a speedy return: and nevertheless, for all their haste, went up to the breast, and if they had tarried a little longer, I had put in so much water, as I think would have put them over head and ears; and God willing, at the next tide I will take in more. This afternoon they have been quiet, and we the mean time be occupied in cutting up of passages to let in more water about the bridge, and that part of the marshes, whereby the enemies shall have very ill watering. I would also take in the salt water about the town, but I cannot do it, by reason I should infect our own water, wherewith we brew, and notwithstanding all I can do, our brewers be so behind-hand in grinding and otherwise, as we shall find that one of our greatest lacks. I therefore make all the haste and provision I can there, and howsoever the matter go, must shortly be forced to let in the salt water.

The three men taken to-day be very ragged, and ill appointed. In examining, they confess that there is great misery in their camp, and great want of money and victuals. They say, and I partly believe it, because it almost appeareth to me, their number to be 25,000 footmen, whereof 10,000 Swisses, and 10,000 horsemen. The Duke of Guise is already among them, and the only deviser and leader of this enterprize. They say also, a shot from the bridge to the Causeway

way

MARV.

1557-8.

way yesterday, struck off the Master of the camp's leg, called Captain Gourdault. I am also perfectly advertised, both by these men and otherwise, that they have no great ordnance yet come, but look for it daily by sea; it is eighty pieces, whereof thirty be cannons, and are laden, with munition and victuals, in vessels, which shall land at Sandgate, or rather I think at Boulogne, and to be taken out of the great ships, and so again embarked to Sandgate in lesser vessels, as they have done most part of their victuals and carriage that they have hitherto occupied. And surely if your Majesty's ships had been on this shore, they might either have letted their voyage, or at the least very much hindered it, and not unlike to have distressed them, being only small boats. Their ordnance that comes shall be conveyed in the same sort, it may therefore please your Majesty to consider it. I have also now fully discovered their enterprize, and am (as a man may be) most sure they will first attempt upon Rysbanke, and that way chiefly assail the town. Marry I think they lie hovering in the country, for the coming of their great artillery, and also to be masters of the sea. And therefore I trust your Highness will haste over all things necessary for us with expedition. Under your Majesty's reformation, I think, if you pleased to set the passage at liberty for all men to come that would, bringing sufficient victuals for themselves for a season, I am of opinion here would be enow, and with more speed than can be made by order. Marry then must it well be foreseen to transport with expedition victuals hither.

I have written to the King's Majesty, of the enemy's being here, and was bold humbly to beseech his Majesty to give commission to the Governors of his frontiers, I might, in necessity upon my letter, have three or four hundred harquebusiers Spaniards, that now be placed about St. Omer's, whereof I thought it my duty to advertise your Majesty for your pleasure, whether I may write to the Governors to that effect, upon his Majesty's answer, and take them or not.

I, with

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1557-8.

I, with the rest of your Council here, are forced to put your Majesty to some charges; for having taken in a confused number of countrymen, we must needs reduce them into order, and the commoners also, and have therefore called them into wages, and appointed Captains of the fittest men that presently be here.

I have placed Dodd with his band in Ryſbanke, and the rest of the extraordinary bands be at the bridge, and in the brayes of this town.

As I was making this discourse, six Ensigns of footmen, and certain bands of horsemen, came from Sandgate by the Downs, within the sight of Ryſbanke, on whom, that place and this town also, bestowed divers shots.

This evening, they have made their approach to Ryſbanke, without any artillery, and as far as I can perceive, do mind to make the assault with ladders, herdy, &c. and other things, and that ways get it. At Calais the 2d of January, at ten in the night, 1557.

As I was in communication with your Mayor and Aldermen, touching the state of this town, whom I find of marvellous good courage, and most ready to live and die in this town, I received letters from my Lords of the Council, of your Majesty's aid provided for us.

I fear this shall be my last letter, for that the enemy will stop my passage, but I will do what I can tidily, to signify unto your Majesty our state.

Your Majesty's, &c.

WENTWORTH.

MARY.

*Lord Grey to the Queen.*1557-8.
January 4.

MY most bounden duty humbly premised to your Majesty; whereas I have heretofore always in effect written nothing to your Highness but good, touching the service and state of your places here; I am now constrained with woful heart to signify unto your Majesty these ensuing. The French have won Newhaven-bridge, and thereby entered into all the Low country, and the marshes between this and Calais. They have also won Ryfbank, whereby they be now master of that haven. And this last night past, they have placed their ordnance of battery against Calais, and are encamped upon St. Peter's heath before it; so that now I am clean cut off from all relief and aid, which I looked to have both out of England and from Calais, and know not how to have help, by any means, either of men or victuals. There resteth now none other way for the succour of Calais, and the rest of your Highness's places on this side, but a power of men out of England, or from the King's Majesty, or from both without delay, able to distress and keep them from victuals coming to them, as well by sea as by land, which shall force them to levy their siege to the battle, or else drive them to a greater danger. For lack of men out of England, I shall be forced to abandon the town, and take in the soldiers thereof for defence of the castle. I have made as good provision of victuals as I could by any means out of the country, with which, God willing, I doubt not to defend and keep this place as long as any man, whatsoever he be, having no better provision, and furniture of men and victuals than I have; wherein your Grace shall well perceive, that I will not fail to do the duty of a faithful subject and Captain, although the enemy attempt never so stoutly, according to the trust reposed in me. I addressed letters presently to the King's Majesty by this

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bearer,

MARY.
1557-8.

bearer, most humbly desiring aid from him, according to the effect
aforesaid. I might now very evil have spared this bringer, my servant and trusty officer here, in this time of service. Howbeit considering the great importance of his message, I thought him a meet man for the purpose, desiring your Majesty to credit him fully, and to hear him at large, even as directly as your Grace would hear me, to open my mind in this complaint of imminent danger. Thus trusting of relief and comfort forthwith from your Majesty for the safeguard of Calais, and other your places here, I take my leave most humbly of your Grace. At your Highness's Castle of Guisnes, most assured English even to the death, the 4th of January 1557, at seven of the clock in the morning.

Your Majesty's most humble

Servant, and obedient Subject,

GREY.

To the Queen our Sovereign Lady.

PLEASETH your Highness to understand the declaration of your humblest and faithful servant, John Highfield, concerning the besieging and loss of your Grace's town of Calais.

First, being appointed by your most honourable Council to repair into England, I came. And after some intelligence that the French army drew towards the English pale, I was commanded to return with diligence unto my charge at Calais, and I arrived there on New Year's Day in the morning. The enemy being then encamped about Sandgate; the said morning, after I had delivered letters to my Lord Deputy, from your Grace's said Council, the said Lord Deputy told me how the alarm was made the night before, and also what he thought meet for me to be done, for the better furniture of
those

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1557-8.

those fortresses which were in most danger, as the bulwarks of the High Country, Guisnes, Newhavenbridge, and Rysbanke, and also for the Defence of the Low Country, because his Lordship thought their enterprise had tended only to the spoil thereof. Then I showed that there was sufficient store of all munitions, and that I would send to all places as need required, which was done.

Item, On Sunday following, we perceived the French ordnance was brought to their camp; whereby appeared that the enemy meant to batter some place. And thereupon there were two mounts repaired for the better defence. At the same time, I desired to have some pioneers appointed to help the cannoneers (who were not forty in number) for the placing and entrenching of our great ordnance, which pioneers I could never get. The same day, the enemy forced our men to forsake the bulwarks of the High Country, and then it was moved to my Lord Deputy, that the sea might be let in, as well to drown the causeway beyond Newhavenbridge, as also other places about the town; wherein was answered, not to be necessary without more appearance of besieging; and because that the sea being entered should hinder the pastures of the cattle, and also the brewing of the beer. The same day my Lord took order that victuals and other necessities should be sent to Newhavenbridge for six days, which was done.

Item, On Monday in the morning, my Lord Deputy with the rest of the Council there, perceiving that the enemy intended to approach nearer, were in doubt whether they might abandon the Low Country; and by advice, my Lord gave order, that the Bailiff of Marke should appoint the servants and women of the Low Country, with their superfluous cattle, to draw, if need happened, into the Flemish pale, and the said Bailiff with his best men to repair to Marke church, and there to abide further order. The same morning before day, the enemy had made their approaches, and did batter both Newhavenbridge and the Rysbanke, which was given up before nine of the clock.

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The Captain of Newhavenbridge had word sent him, that if he saw no remedy to avoid the danger, that then he should retire with his company into the town. The Captain of Rysbanke did about the same time surrender, because (as he told me since) his pieces were all dismounted, and the soldiers very loth to tarry at the breach, wherein I know no more. But after the enemy were entered, I caused the said Rysbanke to be battered, and when my Lord saw how little it profited, he commanded to cease. The same day the passages being both lost, the enemy planted their ordnance on the Sand-hill, to batter the north side of the town; and then I moved my Lord to call in as many countrymen as he could, and to appoint them Captains, and their several quarters, for the relief of those which did most commonly watch and attend on the walls, who answered, that he had determined already so to do. Howbeit the women did more labour about the rampart than the said countrymen, which, for lack of order in time, did absent themselves in houses and other secret places.

The same evening, Captain Saligues came into Calais, whereupon the people rejoiced, hoping some succour, but after that time, it was too late to receive help by land, because the French horsemen were entered the Low Country.

Item, On Tuesday in the morning, the enemy begun their battery to the town, on which side I had placed fourteen brass pieces. Howbeit, within short time, the enemy having so commodious a place, did dismount certain of our best pieces, and consumed some of the gunners, which stood very open for lack of mounds and good fortification. For if the rampart had been finished, there might divers pieces have been brought from other places, which were above sixty in number, ready mounted, but lacking convenient place, and chiefly cannoneers and pioneers, it was hard to displace the French battery; which counter-battery could not have been maintained for lack of powder. For at the beginning, having in store four hundred

dred barrels, I found that there was spent within five days, one hundred.

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Item, On Wednesday the enemy continued their battery on the town without great hurt done, because they could not beat the foot of the wall, for that the contremure was of a good height, and we reinforced the breach in the night, with timber, wool, and other matter sufficiently, and we looked that the enemy would have attempted the assault the same evening, whereupon I caused two flankers to be made ready, and also placed two bombards, by the help of the soldiers, appointing weapons and fireworks to be in readiness at the said breach. At which time my Lord commanded the soldiers of the garrison to keep their ordinary wards, and Master Grimston to the breach with the residue of the best soldiers. And then my Lord exhorted all men to fight, with other good words, as in such case appertaineth. And my said Lord told me divers times, that although there came no succour, yet he would never yield, nor stand to answer the loss of such a town.

Item, On Thursday began one other battery to the castle, which being a high and weak wall without rampart, was made faultable the same day. Whereupon the Captain of the castle desired some more help, to defend his breach, or else to know what my Lord thought best in that behalf. Then after long debating, my Lord determined to have the towers overthrown, which one Saulle took upon him to do, notwithstanding I said openly, that if the castle were abandoned, it should be the loss of the town. The same night my Lord appointed me to be at the breach of the town with him; and about eight of the clock the enemy waded over the haven at the low water, with certain harquebusiers, to view the breaches, and coming to the castle, found no resistance, and so entered; then the said Saulle failed to give fire unto the train of powder. Then my Lord understanding that the enemy were entered into the castle, commanded me to give order for battering the castle, whereupon incontinent

there

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1557-8.

there were bent three cannons, and one saker before the gate, to beat the bridge, which being in the night did not greatly annoy. The same time, Mr. Marshall with divers foldiers came towards the castle, lest the enemy should enter the town also. And after we had skirmished upon the bridge (seeing no remedy to recover the castle), we did burn and break the said bridge; and there was a trench immediately cast before the castle, which was only help at that time. Within one hour after, upon necessity of things, determined to send a trumpet with a herald, declaring, that if the French would send one gentleman, then he would send one other in gage. Whereupon my Lord sent for me, and commanded that I should go forth of the town for the same purpose, wherein I desired his Lordship, that he would send some other, and rather throw me over the walls; then he spoke likewise to one Windebanke, and to Maf-singberd (as I remember), which were both to go unto such service. Then my Lord sent for me again into Peyton's house, and being eftsoons commanded by the Council there, I went forth with a trumpet, and received in a French Gentleman, who, as I heard, was brought to my Lord Deputy's house, and treated upon some articles, which were brought within one hour by one Hall, merchant of the Staple. Then Monsieur D'Anelot entered the town with certain French Gentlemen, and the said Hall and I were brought to Monf. de Guise, who lay in the Sand-hills by Ryisbanke, and there the said Hall delivered a bill, and we were sent to Monf. D'Estree's tent. The Friday after, Monf. D'Estrees told me, that my Lord Deputy had agreed to render the town with loss of all the goods, and fifty prisoners to remain. On Saturday he brought me into the town, willing me to tell him what ordnance, powder, and other houses did belong unto my office, because he would reserve the same from spoiling by the French soldiers. And after he had knowledge that all my living was on that side, he was content that I should depart into Flanders. Notwithstanding, I was driven off until Wednesday; then he said, he would send

send me away, if I would promise him to make suit, that his son might return in exchange for the Captain of the castle, who being prisoner, desired me also to travail in it, for he would rather give 3000 crowns than remain a prisoner. Whereupon I promised to enquire and labour in the same matter to the best of my power. At my said return into the town, I found my wife, which showed me that in my absence, she had bestowed my money and plate to the value of 600*l.* which was found before my coming, saving one bag with 350 crowns, which I offered to give unto the said Monf. D'Estrees, if he would promise me on his honour to dispatch me on horseback to Graveling, which he did. And there I met with Monf. de Vandeville, to whom I told, that I thought the enemy would visit him shortly; and among other things, I enquired of him where Monf. D'Estrees's son did lie, who told me that he was at Bruges.

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Then at my coming to Dunkirk, there were divers Englishmen willing to serve, whereupon I spake to the Captain of the town, who advised me to move it to the Duke of Savoy. Then I rode to Bruges, beseeching him to consider the poor men, and how willing they were to serve the King's Majesty if they might be employed. Then he answered, that he thought my Lord of Pembroke would shortly arrive to Dunkirk, and then he would take order. Further, the said Duke asked me, after what sort the town was lost? I answered, that the cause was not only by the weakness of the castle, and lack of men, but also I thought there was some treason, for, as I heard, there were some escaped out of the town, and the Frenchmen told me, that they had intelligence of all our estate within the town. Then I put the Duke in remembrance of Guisnes, who told me, that he would succour the castle, if it were kept four or five days. Then I took leave to depart from him, and when I was going out of the house, he sent the Captain of his guard to commit me to prison, where I have remained nine weeks, without any matter

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laid to my charge, saving he sent to me within fourteen days after, to declare in writing, after what sort the town was lost, which I did as nigh as I could remember. And at the Duke's next return to Bruges, I sent him a supplication, desiring, that if any information were made against me, that I might answer it in England, or otherwise at his pleasure. Whereupon he took order to send me hither without paying any part of my charges, which I have promised to answer. Most humbly praying your Highness to consider my poor estate, and willing heart, which I bear, and am most bounden to your Grace's service, beseeching God to conserve your Majesty in all felicity.

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No. VII.

ELIZABETH.

Letters from Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Ambassador in France. From the Originals in the Paper Office.

[This suite of Letters from Throckmorton is published by way of addition to what Dr. Forbes has already printed, of the negotiations of that able and well informed Ambassador. He was then on the most confidential terms with Cecil; but on his return home, not meeting with the reward he expected and deserved for his services, he struck in not only with the Leicester faction, but with the Queen of Scots' party, and did the worst offices in his power to the Secretary; he had likewise quarrelled in France, and was at the eve of fighting with Sir T. Smith, his colleague, and the intimate friend of Cecil, and it is probable that the latter who went by plain ways to direct ends, disliked his intriguing spirit, and dreaded his abilities. There is an original picture of him at Wobourn, which has a remarkable subtle look.]

*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Secret. Cecil.*1560.
October 28.

S I R,

THE 25th of October, in the night, I received the Queen's Majesty's packet, with the letters and writings mentioned in the same, by my servant Davis; and also a letter from you, which amongst other things containeth your advice to have me write to her Majesty, to move the same for order to be taken in the better dispatch of her affairs, which, you say, are too much neglected. For answer whereunto, I say, I know not where to begin: I looked by your last to be somewhat satisfied and resolved, touching the greatest matter of all, I mean the Queen's marriage. I know not what to think, nor how to understand your letter in that point. And the bruits be so brim, and so maliciously reported here, touching the marriage of the

R

Lord

ELIZABETH.

Lord Robert, and the death of his wife *, as I know not where to turn me, nor what countenance to bear. Sir, I thank God I had rather perish and quail with honesty, than live and beguile a little time with shame.

And therefore I tell you plainly, until I hear off, or on, what you think in that matter, I see no reason in the advising of her Majesty. Marry, to you I say in private, that albeit I do like him for some respects well, and esteem him for many good parts and gifts of nature, that be in him, and do wish him well to do; yet the love, duty, and affection, that I bear to the Queen's Majesty, and to the surety of herself, and her realm, doth, and shall, during my life, take more place in me, than any friendship, or any particular case. And therefore I say, if that marriage take place, I know not to what purpose any advice or counsel should be given; for as I see into the matter, none would serve. If you think, that I have any small skill or judgment in things at home, or on this side, or can conjecture sequels, I do assure you, the matter succeeding, our state is in great danger of utter ruin and destruction. And so far methinketh I see into the matter, as I wish myself already dead, because I would not live in that time. I beseech you, like as I deal plainly with you, so to signify plainly unto me, not only what is done in that matter, but what you think will be the end. Thereupon you shall perceive, that I will write unto her Majesty my poor advice, in such sort, as becometh a true and faithful servant. And if the matter be not already determined, and so far past, as advice will not serve, I require you, as you bear a true and faithful heart to her Majesty and the realm, and do desire to keep them from utter desolation, & *in visceribus Jesu Christi*, I conjure you to do all your

* The daughter of Sir J. Roberfet; she died in a lonesome house in Berkshire, belonging to a tenant of Lord R. Dudley; her death was attended with such odd circumstances, as gave occasion to many unfavourable reports;

and Lord Burleigh, in a note of his printed in the 1st Vol. of the Hatfield Papers, takes notice of it, as affording just grounds of scandal.

endeavour

ELIZABETH.

endeavour to hinder that marriage. For, if it take place, there is no counsel nor advice, that can help. Who would be either patron or mariner, when there is no remedy to keep the ship from sinking? As we begin already to be in derision and hatred, for the bruit only, and nothing taken here on this side more assured than our destruction; so if it take place, we shall be *opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis*. God and religion, which be the fundaments, shall be out of estimation; the Queen our Sovereign discredited, contemned, and neglected; our country ruined, undone, and made prey. Wherefore with tears and sighs, as one being already almost confounded, I beseech you again and again, set to your wits, and all your help to stay the commonwealth, which lieth now in great hazard.

Let us remember what this noble wise man said, when he used these words: "Ego enim existimo melius agi cum civibus privatim, si tota respublica fortunata sit, quam si per singulos cives felix sit, publicè vero labefactetur. Nam quum evertitur patria, is, cui privatim bene est, nihil tamen minus et ipse evertitur; cui autem malè, is in illa prosperè agente, multo magis incolumis est." For your letters, they be as safe in my hand as in your own, and more safe in mine than in any messenger's. Think it assuredly, I am as jealous of your safety and well doing, as yourself; and so conceive of me.

If you will be pleased to write unto me sooner than you shall have occasion to send a post, my cousin H. Middlemore, my steward, can, I suppose, convey your letters safely unto me. I am much beguiled, if he be not an honest and faithful young man; I pray you deal with my letters as I do with yours; for all is not gold that glitters, and that you may well perceive by some men's new haunts. It may like you to shew this bearer some favour for my sake, in his suit. I pray you also, let my Lord of Creigh find courtesy at your hands. The man is well affected to you, for the bruit that

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ELIZABETH. runneth of you. Thus I humbly take my leave of you. From Paris
the 28th of October, 1560.

Yours, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

1560.
October 31.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Secret. Cecil.

MR. SECRETARY,

BY letters which I wrote to you by the Lord of Creigh, of the 28th of this present, I signified, that I minded not to depart out of this town, till Du Bois, master of the camp, were passed by; now I am advertised, that the 30th of this month, he went along here, and hath brought with him out of the places and forts of Picardy, one thousand footmen, who marched together, by this town and Roan, towards Anjou, as it is told me; but the very truth, whether they shall go, is not known but to himself and to the Duke of Guise, and to never a Captain of his company.

Their kind of marching is very strange. They keep together strong, as if it were in the enemy's country.

I am advertised, that after these thousand, come five hundred more; the places from whence these be taken, are filled up again with the Legionaires. Anjou is not far from Nantz, where the gallies lie; and therefore the matter is to be looked to, and the more, if there be any ships or bottoms in rigging there, or near unto. And therefore it shall not be amiss to have an eye thither, by such as trade that way from England, or by such other means, as you can devise, wherein I will also travail the best I can. Hereof I thought good to advertise you: and also, that I am now upon my departure towards Orleans, the said Du Bois being passed by.

I send

ELIZABETH.

I send you herewith the last order that was taken for the assembly of the men at arms, to be at Orleans, as you shall perceive. You shall also receive a new almanack and prognostication of Nostradamus; but I think he never saw it.

I cannot perceive that the King of Navarre is yet come to the Court. This Scottish Gentleman, bearer hereof, is named Alexander Forster, laird of Torwood. I pray you let him have your favour, by your favour and your means, for his good usage, and quiet passing into his country, whither he repaireth presently. And thus I take my leave of you, wishing you in health your heart's desire. From Paris the last of October 1560.

Your's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen.

1560.
Novem. 17.

IT may please your Majesty to be advertised, that since the sending of my letters unto the same the 28th of October, by my Lord of Creigh, upon knowledge given me, that the master of the camp, De Bois, was coming forward out of Picardy with 1500 men, I staid somewhat longer at Paris than I minded to have done, to understand what way he would take; wherein I signified somewhat to Mr. Secretary by my letters of the last of October, sent by the Laird of Torwoodhead, of Scotland; and as the said De Bois being passed by towards Angiers and Nantz, giveth cause of suspicion; and, therefore, considering what advertisement your Majesty hath of preparation there (which I know not), and his coasting that way greatly to be doubted, and that the galleys be at Nantz, which have lately been victualled; the worst is to be feared: so I thought not convenient to stay longer at Paris, but took my way towards Orleans, where I arrived.

ELIZABETH.

arrived the 4th of this present; and for my better proceeding, touching your Majesty's instructions given unto me, immediately upon my coming thither, I used means to speak with the 6th of this present at night, where

had proceeded with this King and Queen, and their Council, since his arrival here. Of the particularities of whose doings, the bearer hereof, your Majesty's servant, whom I have therein instructed, shall be able to inform your Majesty, to whom it may like you to give credit.

that he had not, as they had, any commodity, either to shew his commission, or to demand the ratification, and that the 6th of this present, he was appointed to shew his commission, and thereupon minded to demand the said ratification. And forasmuch as the chief cause alleged by the King for the stay of the ratifying of the treaty between your Majesty and him, when it was last demanded, depended upon the priority (as this King took it) of the Scottish treaty, and that hitherto the said Ambassador was at no point, nor could not tell whereupon to trust; albeit your Majesty commandeth me by your letters of the 19th of October, to require audience, and to demand the ratification estsoons at this King's hands; yet because I would the more groundly proceed in my charge, by as much knowledge as I could get of the answer to be given to the Scotch Ambassador, I staid my demanding of audience, till I might be informed, how he had proceeded, touching his charge.

Having thus staid to see what would succeed the 6th of this present, of the said Ambassador's doings, and perceiving the 7th of the same, that there was nothing done touching the ratification of his treaty between France and Scotland, but that he had very good words and promises for his satisfaction; I sent your Majesty's servant Mr. Somers, the same night, to speak unto the Cardinal for audience, who made answer, that the next day the King was determined to go on hunting, so as I could not that day speak with him; but he said, that

that if I would the next morning send unto him, he would send me more particular word of the King's pleasure; whereupon the 8th of this month, I sent again unto him for that purpose, and he sent me answer that I could not have audience before Monday the 11th of this present.

ELIZABETH.

Notwithstanding the Cardinal his last answer, the 10th of this present, about dinner time, he sent unto me a Gentleman to advertise me, that the King was set to dinner, and was pleased in the afternoon to give me audience; and therefore prayed me (if I would) to come to dinner to him.

After I had staid a little while at my lodging, being set at dinner before his coming, he returned the same Gentleman again unto me, to tell me that the King and he had dined and tarried for me; whereupon I repaired to the Court, and first speaking with the Cardinal, and after with the King, I declared to either of them that part of your Majesty's instructions given me, touching the demanding of the ratification. I received of them both one answer, which was, (they said) that the Master of St. John's of Scotland was indeed come; but forasmuch as the King was greatly impeded through his own affairs, and could not have time to understand his charge, and to give him audience, they had not as yet thoroughly considered these things which he had to do with them; notwithstanding the King would speak with the said Master of St. John's the next day (which was the 11th of this present) and then give him answer; whereupon, if I did send my Secretary unto the Cardinal, I should know when I should afterwards have access to the King, and then understand his further pleasure.

The Lord of St. John's having been with the King's Council the 11th of this present, I looked to hear from the Cardinal (as he promised) touching my charge; and staying two days without knowledge from him, I did, the 13th of this present, send Mr. Somers to the Cardinal, to put him in remembrance, that I might know the King's pleasure, touching

ELIZABETH.

touching the ratification, seeing the Lord of St. John's had already been two days before with the Council. The Cardinal made him answer, that the King had been so busied, as he had no time, since my being at the Court, to consider the matter. Mr. Somers told him, that I said that with these delays the time passed, and that your Majesty would both think it long, and judge a great fault in me, that there was no better expedition therein; the Cardinal said hereunto, that the King had cause to think the time as long as your Majesty did; but there was no remedy, and therefore I must be contented.

After I had received this answer from the Cardinal, I did understand, by good means, that such of the French King's Council, as had the scanning and discussion of the treaty of Scotland in their hands, found divers faults and imperfections (as they expounded it), whereby the French King and Queen may have good reason to refuse the ratification thereof, as (I am indeed advertised) they mind to do. Whereupon weighing that it would be a long time before the Lord of St. John's could be answered, and that, in the end, the treaty should not be ratified, I thought not meet to ground my proceedings further upon the said Ambassador's delays, but to proceed more roundly to the demanding of the ratification of your Majesty's said treaty. And because the Cardinal had sent me two dilatory answers before, touching the same, the 14th of this present in the forenoon, I sent Mr. Somers to the Cardinal to tell him, that I had received since my being with him, other letters from her Majesty, and therefore prayed him to signify unto me, when I might have audience (for I feared lest that if I had spoken of the treaty, he would further have delayed me). The Cardinal as then made him answer, that if he would come again in the afternoon, he would send me word what I should do, which Mr. Somers did, and the Cardinal thereupon made answer, that the next day, the 15th of this present, I should have audience, and that he would send a Gentleman unto me to advertise me of the time, and to conduct me to the Court.

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The 14th day the Lord of St. John's (as I am informed) was earnest with the Cardinal, and pressed him for some resolution, touching his charge. The Cardinal answered him, that the King's Council had considered the affairs he was sent for, and found, that the King and Queen's subjects of Scotland, sought to deprive the King and Queen of the right of pre-eminence of the realm of Scotland, and to reduce it to the form of a republic; which he said the King and Queen could in no wise endure, as they should right well perceive. The Lord of St. John's used as good means as he could to persuade the contrary to the Cardinal, who said, Use no more words to persuade me in the matter, for we see too thoroughly into it, and (quoth he) what meaneth this dealing, that they send you hither in post, and send a great legation to the Queen of England, with great show and pomp? I speak it not because we take exceptions to you, as though you were not meet enough to take the charge of the matter, but we do see the little reverence they have towards their Sovereigns, and the great estimation they have of the Queen of England; and it appeareth by their doings, that they desire all the world should see it. But my Lord, quoth the Cardinal, you shall not need to trouble yourself any more with the matter, for you shall have your dispatch the 17th of this month, and the King and Queen mind to send two Gentlemen into your country shortly, who shall declare on their behalf, the reasons why the King and Queen refuse to ratify your treaty.

ELIZABETH.

The 15th of this present, after the King had dined, the Cardinal sent a Gentleman unto me, to accompany me to the Court, where being arrived, Monsi. de Lansac, a Knight of the Order, entertained me a while, in the chamber next to the King's chamber, until the Cardinal of Lorraine came unto me, out of the King's chamber (after I had paused with the said de Lansac), unto whom I said, Monsieur Cardinal, you do well remember, that upon Sunday last at my last audience, renewing on the Queen my Mistress's behalf to the King,

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ELIZABETH.

the demand for the King and Queen's ratification of the treaty concluded and accorded in Scotland, by the deputies of both their Majesties, the King and you answered me, that when his Majesty and his Council had thoroughly considered the matters of Scotland, which should be within three or four days, I should have my answer, and for that now five days be past, and I hear nothing of the King's pleasure, and also I being, by late letters from her Majesty, commanded to renew again the demand for the ratification, have desired audience, to put the King in remembrance thereof.

The Cardinal answered, that the King was a little impeached, and therefore I must a while take patience; but, quoth he, as unto the ratification of the treaty, the King being a Prince of honour, meaneth to proceed thereafter, and will promise nothing but he will perform, and therefore he will look well to what he promiseth. The Princes, quoth he, be equal, and the King doth not mean so to derogate from himself, as to begin to do an act first, thereby to abase himself. In these cases the Princes must execute together, and, quoth he, you must not take it, that the King doth look for any pre-eminence at the Queen, your Mistress's hands. The King and his Council, quoth he, have seen all that the Master of St. John's hath brought; and otherwise also understandeth the truth of their proceedings in Scotland, which is so far out of order, as if your Mistress were arbiter, she would not think meet, that the King should ratify the treaty, as we shall give her to understand by such Ministers, as the King doth mean presently to send into Scotland, through England.

I said unto the Cardinal, Monsieur, doth not the King mean to ratify the treaty?

You shall anon, quoth the Cardinal, know the King's pleasure therein. I said unto him, the Queen my Mistress will find it very strange, if there be any more delays used in that behalf, and because you are, quoth I, the King's principal Counsellor, I will declare

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unto

unto you the occasions that the Queen my Mistres hath to find herself grieved, and very strange handled of a Prince, that pretendeth to bear her amity.

ELIZABETH.

First, I will pass over all the evasions that have been hitherto used, touching the ratification of the treaty, which you know have been many, and I will remember you, that contrary to the express words of the treaty, the King doth the Queen my Mistres this injury, as to bear yet her arms quartered with his, as hath been most manifestly seen, at his entry at St. Dennis, and lastly at this town, where they hang yet openly upon every gate, and here at the court-gate very notoriously.

Moreover, the Queen, my Mistres's subjects, be daily spoiled at the sea, either by the King's subjects, or by pirates of this nation; and no restitution can be had by any means, so as there is no difference between your peace and war.

Thirdly, The Queen my Mistres, doth understand, that in sundry ports of this realm, as at Havre de Grace and in other places, there be ships prepared to do either such like enterprises or worse, and it is not also unknown that all along the coast, there is preparation to make a navy to the sea.

Her Majesty doth also understand of the amassing of forces by land, as well in this realm as elsewhere in Almain and Switzerland; and now lastly, considering, after so many promises, these new delays to be used for the ratification of the treaty, will move the Queen my Mistres, together with these former injuries, and causes of suspicion, occasion to hold the King's meaning greatly suspected.

And finally, the Queen is advertised, that your galleys, which lately arrived at Nantz, there to winter, be now victualled, and shall shortly be brought into the narrow seas; and albeit, quoth I, your force gathered by land, may seem to have some colour reasonable, for the appeasing of the tumults in this realm; yet there is no cause

ELIZA-
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why the preparing of an army by sea, should serve to any such purpose.

The Cardinal answered, as unto the using and bearing of the arms of England, the King and the Queen did use them, as you know of long time before, and not without reason and title, as it is thought. We see no reason why the King should leave his right, until others do that which they are bound to do: for where you allege for your purpose the treaty, we say it is no treaty until it be ratified, and then there is no reason why the King and Queen should in that behalf more satisfy your Mistress than she should satisfy them, nor we begin before she begin.

I told him, your Majesty had performed all things on your part, that was required by the treaty, and further, had shewn great kindness and pleasures to sundry of the King's Ministers, as in lending them money, in transporting their people forth of Scotland, in retiring your force from thence, and disarming your navy; and in recompence hereof, there was nothing done on their behalfs.

The Cardinal said, I will tell you frankly; the Scots, the King's subjects, do perform no point of their duties; the King and the Queen hath the name of their Sovereigns; and your Mistress hath the effect and the obedience. They would bring the realm to a republic, and say in their words, they be the King's subjects. To tell you of the particular disorders, quoth he, were too long; every man doth what he list: all this is too far out of order, and when fault is found with them, they threaten the King with the aid of the Queen your Mistress: let your Mistress either make them obedient subjects, or let her rid her hands of them; for rather than they shall be at this point, the King will quit all. They have made a league with the Queen your Mistress, of themselves, without us. What manner of dealing is this of subjects? Thereupon it is they bear themselves so proudly. What conveniency is there in their

doings? They have sent hither a mean man in post to the King and Queen, their Sovereigns, and to the Queen, your Mistress, a great and solemn legation. To be plain with you, quoth he, the King cannot like these doings. As I told you the King meaneth to send two Gentlemen; first, to the Queen your Mistress, to inform her of the things where the King is offended, and the cause why he refuseth the ratification of the treaty; and they shall pass into Scotland, to declare unto them the King and Queen's pleasure. And where you say your Mistress hath in all things performed the treaty, we say the Scots do by her countenance perform no point of the treaty; and moreover she hath broken the old treaty, in giving passport and licence to the King's subjects of Scotland, to come into England; and for that purpose neither motion hath been made by our Ambassador, nor letter from the King nor Queen, their Sovereigns, granted them in that behalf.

ELIZABETH.

As to the spoiling, quoth the Cardinal, of your Mistress's subjects at the sea; this complaint is too general; you have made but one complaint unto us particularly, and what speedy and favourable dispatch the plaintiffs had, I report me to yourself, and to them. We could remember you of divers particular matters, whereof we have but cold redress. If you inform us of the depredations, and the offenders, and then can get no redress, then you have cause to complain, and to charge us.

As to the equipage of the ships, quoth he, at Havre de Grace, and in other places, true it is, the Admiral doth set forth four or five, some for Brazil, and some for Mina *. Of these there is no cause why you should be jealous. The Ambassador of Spain was in hand with us for the same purpose. The Admiral hath ascertained him with his own hand, that they are for these voyages, and if there be any other matter in it, it will cost him his head. We are not so

* On the Guinea coast.

jealous

ELIZABETH.

jealous of your preparations of five or six ships, which be ready to come forth of Thamise.

As to the assembling of our forces by land, quoth the Cardinal, we have brought them from Picardy hither into the midst of the realm, you had more cause to suspect them being at Picardy than where they be, I am sure you know as well as we where they be.

For Almain and Switzerland, I assure you of mine honour, we levy not a man; indeed, our Commissaries be gone to warn our Colonels, to be ready when we shall have need of them.

As to the galleys, quoth he, we cannot suffer our men to be unvisualled; but they be in no readines to make a voyage; for many of our chief men be gone to Marseilles, there to winter; but what and the King do remove them to some other place, will you be jealous if the King do remove his ships or galleys, from one port to another upon his own coast, as his affairs requireth, or the more commodious harbour for them? we be not so quarrelling nor jealous when your ships go from one place to another.

This great legation forth of Scotland, quoth he, goeth for the marriage of the Queen your Mistres with the Earl of Arran, what shall she have with him? I think, quoth he, her heart too great to marry with such one as he is, and one of the Queen's subjects.

But to conclude with you, quoth the Cardinal, the King will see the obedience of his subjects, and their duties better performed, before he ratify the treaty. I will now, quoth he, go tell the King that you have long tarried for him; and so he departed from me.

Shortly after, I was brought to the King, whom I put in remembrance what passed betwixt us the 10th of this month at my last audience; and that I was now come to demand his ratification of the treaty again.

The King answered, that the Scots, his subjects, had in no point observed their duty, nor no part of the treaty; and for that cause, he

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he could not ratify your Majesty's treaty. I told him that your Majesty would find it strange, that after so many delays, the matter was now so answered; and therefore your Majesty had given me in charge to tell him on your part, and so declared unto him all your griefs, which I did as I had done unto the Cardinal, and set forth unto him all the good parts used on your behalf towards him, the Queen his wife, and all their Ministers and subjects.

ELIZABETH.

His answer was, that he had not failed on his part to do the like; and he would send two of his Gentlemen to your Majesty, to inform you of all; and, quoth he, I am sure mine uncle the Cardinal hath answered you to all those points that you complain of; and so he dismissed me.

The Duke of Guise did accompany me from the King, to whom I did reiterate this strange manner of dealing, and recited unto him those your Majesty's causes of misliking the King's usage and proceedings towards you, as I had done to his brother.

The Duke answered me as the Cardinal did, to every point; and added further, in answering the complaint of the depredations, and slow restitution, that they had a great deal more cause to complain, as well for fundry spoliations made upon the King's subjects, by your Majesty's subjects, as also for the taking of his brother's goods, the Marquis D'Elbeuf, as corn of the King and other munition, with fundry other spoils, whereof they had but slow amends.

I told him those matters (if there were any such) were done before the treaty was made; and so the Cardinal and Mons. de L'Aubespine called him from me.

I desired to speak with the Queen mother, and so I was brought to her by Mons. de Lansac.

The said Queen was accompanied with the Marshal Brisac. I did repeat unto her all your Majesty's proceedings, since the making of the treaty, at good length, all the office that I had used in the demanding the ratification; and lastly the answer I had received of the King

ELIZABETH.

King and his Council, together with the declaration of injuries and causes of offence offered sundry ways unto your Majesty. I set forth unto her, as I could, the good opinion your Majesty had always of her, and of her good affection and inclination to maintain the King her son, and you in good amity and intelligence.

For answer, she thanked your Majesty for your good opinion of her; and said, you were therein nothing deceived; and it should always appear by her doings. As unto the ratification, she knew the King and his Council had declared reasons unto me, for the stay of it; which your Majesty should know shortly by express men from the King her son.

As unto the injuries and suspicions, she said, she was sure the Cardinal and the Duke of Guise had opened enough unto me, to hold myself contented; ending, that for her part, she would do the best she could, to keep both your Majesties, your realms, and subjects, in good terms and amity.

Whilst I was talking with the Queen Mother, the French Queen came in, unto whom, after the communication ended with the Queen Mother, I said, Madame, it is not unknown to you, how the ratification of the treaty lately made in Scotland, hath seemed hitherto to have been deferred, because the nobility and people of your realm of Scotland did not send hither to the King and you, to do their duties, and now that the Queen my Mistress doth understand, they have in that part, and in the name of them all, satisfied their duty, by sending hither the Lord of St. John's to the King and you; her Majesty hath commanded me to demand of your Majesty the ratification of the treaty, accorded and concluded by both your deputies at Edinburgh.

The Queen answered, Such answer as the King my Lord and husband, and his Council, hath made you in that matter, might suffice to answer you; but because you shall know I have reason to

to do as I do, I will tell you what moveth me to refuse to ratify the treaty; my subjects of Scotland do their duty in no thing, nor have not performed one point that belongeth to them. I am, quoth she, their Queen, and so they call me, but they use me not so; they have done what pleaseth them, and though I have not many faithful there, yet those few that be there on my party, were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor Gentleman to me, who I disdain to have come in the name of them all, to the King and me, in such a legation. They have, quoth she, sent great personages to your Mistress. I am their Sovereign, but they take me not so: They must be taught to know their duties. In this speech the Queen uttered some choler and stomach against them.

ELIZABETH.

I said, as to the Lord of St. John's, I know him not; but he is great Prior of Scotland, and you know by others, what rank that estate hath, equal to any Earl within your realm.

The Queen answered, I do not take him for great Prior, for he is married; I marvel how it happeneth, that they could send other manner of men to the Queen your mistress.

I said, Madame, I have heard, that if your Majesty proceed graciously with the Lord of St. John's, in observation of all that which was by the Bishop of Vallence and Mons. de Randan promised in the King and your names; the Nobles and State of Scotland doth mind to send hither unto the King and you, a greater legation.

Then the King and I, quoth she, must begin with them.

Madame, quoth I, I am sorry that the ratification of the treaty is refused for that matter, together with other injuries offered to the Queen my Mistress, as (contrary to the express articles of the treaty) the King and you do bear openly the arms of England, which will

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give

ELIZABETH.

give the Queen my Mistress occasion greatly to suspect your well meaning unto her.

Mine uncles, quoth she, have sufficiently answered you in this matter: and for your part, I pray you do the office of a good Minister betwixt us, and so shall you do well; and so the Queen dismissed me, and Monsi. de Lansac brought me to my horse.

Thus your Majesty may perceive my negotiation with this King, the Queens, the Cardinal, and the Duke of Guise, touching the ratification, the 15th of this present.

The Duke of Guise told me, that it was determined that Messrs. de Noailles, late Ambassador with your Majesty, and de Croc, were they whom the King would send into Scotland.

As touching the occurrents of this Court, it may please your Majesty to be advertised, that the King of Navarre being on his way to this Court, hath had letters, as I am informed, written unto him, of great good opinion conceived of him by this King, with all other kind of courtesies, to cause him to repair thither. Nevertheless, upon his coming, being accompanied with his brethren the Cardinal of Bourbon, and Prince of Condé, after they have done their reverence to the King and Queens, the Prince of Condé was brought before the Council, who committed him forthwith prisoner to the guard of Messrs. de Bresy and Chauveney, two Captains of the guard, and their companies of 200 archers. He remaineth close in a house, and no man permitted to speak with him; and his process is in hand. And I hear he shall now be committed prisoner to the castle of Loches, the strongest prison in all this realm.

The King of Navarre goeth at liberty, but as it were a prisoner, and is every other day on hunting, and lieth out of the town at his pleasure, and as it is judged, and as it seemeth indeed, beareth and alloweth his brother's handling.

The said King hath since his coming hither, sent one in post to Rome, to acknowledge his obedience to the Pope.

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He shall, as it is said, forego his Governorship of Guyenne, and the same shall be bestowed upon Monf. de Termes.

ELIZABETH.

Madame de Boy, the Admiral of France his sister, mother to the Princess of Condé, is taken and constituted prisoner.

It is said, that the Visdame of Chartres shall come to Orleans, where the Knights of the Order shall be assembled; and he thereupon is like to see the end of his process.

I am informed, that the Prince of Condé, his * process being in the hands of the Parliament of Paris, the President and Council of the same have answered, that the Prince may not be judged by them, but by his Peers, because he is of the blood Royal.

The Dutcheffs of Ferrara, mother to the Duke that now is, according to that I wrote heretofore to your Majesty, is arrived at this Court, the 7th of this present, and was received by the King of Navarre, the French King's brethren, and all the great Princes of this Court.

Monf. de Martigues hath of late been at Paris, and there committed himself to justice for manners' sake, for the late outrage committed there by him. He had his pardon in his hands; he is now returned to the Court, very much made of, and waited upon, with above twenty of the bravest and best Captains of France.

The French King mindeth to keep his estate here at Orleans, where all the armour is taken from the townsmen.

The Marshal Termes is at Poitiers, with divers companies of men at arms; where also the townsmen be used, as they be at Orleans.

The Cardinal of Tournon being Legate for the Pope in France, is arrived here at Orleans, and is of the King's Privy Council.

At Bourdeaux, and in all places between this town and that, all is very quiet, notwithstanding divers bruits to the contrary, and (as

* About the conspiracy of Amboise.

ELIZABETH.

one Swanne, a subject of your Majesty's, informeth me, who came directly thence in post) all the sea coasts are furnished with men at arms, and soldiers, to what end no man knoweth.

The house of Guise practiseth, by all the means they can, to make the Queen Mother Regent of France at this next assembly; so as they are like to have all the authority still in their hands, for she is wholly theirs.

It is said, that the French King mindeth, with the time, to convert all his Abbeyes into Commandaries of divers Orders, as there be in Spain.

It is said, that Ferdinand of Austriche levieth men in Almain; but to what end I cannot learn.

The Rhinegrave remaineth still in Almain, and goeth from one Prince to another. His being there is diversly discoursed upon, considering the time of the year is unmeet for pastime.

The Sophy is dead; his son hath conjoined himself with Bajazet the Turk's second son, who having their forces together, are about to deprive the Turk and his eldest son of the empire, which news was so displeasing to the Turk, as it is thought he is thereupon dead; and it is advertised from Venice, that he was in very great danger of his life, and could hardly escape.

The French King and his Court do remove hence the 19th of this present towards Semmceau, the Queen Mother's house, and mindeth not, as it is said, to return hither before his estates be assembled.

Two sons of Oconer, who have been in France these eight years, are lately dispatched hence into Ireland, as I am informed. I doubt not but that there is good order, that they shall be able to do no hurt.

It is secretly talked here, that there is somewhat in hand, touching the isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Scilly.

There is an advertisement come hither, from the French Agent in Flanders, that the Dutchess of Parma hath put to death, for the cause of religion, either two of your Majesty's subjects, or else denizens being of Flanders. Whether it be true or not, I am not assured; but these men seem to be very glad of it, as I am well informed.

ELIZABETH.

There is here arrived an Ambassador from the Duke of Savoy, named Monsi. de Moreto, who, as I understand, shall shortly repair into England, to speak with your Majesty from the said Duke.

De Lignerol is also upon his dispatch, if he be not already arrived in England before this bearer.

I am informed, that Charlebois shall come away from Dunbarre, and that Croc shall remain there in his stead.

The King of Spain hath kept divers of his Cortes, and is still in following the same. He maketh ready one hundred galleys, as I am informed, and a good number of ships, and withal maketh preparation for an army. It is said to be to renew his enterprize of Tripoli; but many do doubt, that they be for some other purpose.

The said King oweth twenty-one millions of Ducats, as it is judged; and were it not, as it is said, for his new Minister, he had been brought very low for money.

The Pope hath granted to the said King, licence to sell 50,000 Crowns of Spiritual Revenue, the profit whereof will rise to, at the least, two millions of crowns.

The said King hath sent in present to the French King, as I am informed, six very beautiful Jennets of Spain of his own; and hath suffered his servants to buy in Spain fifteen others of the most principal pieces that could be found.

The General Council is, by the order and consent of the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of France and Spain, appointed to be at Trent, where not only the said Princes will assist by their Ministers, but also the Kings of Portugal, Poland, and Navarre, with the States of Italy.

Monfieur

ELIZABETH.

Monfieur de Ferme, a Secretary of this Court, who went with Monfieur de Bourdezicve to Rome, is returned with the Pope's grant for the taking of an 100,000 Crowns of the Spiritual Revenues to be sold. The confideration of which grant, and the like to the King of Spain is (as I am informed) to the end, that the money made thereof be employed againft the Protestants and heretics, as they term them.

Notwithstanding the late treaty, your Majesty's arms have been fet up quartered, when the French King made his entry in St. Dennis, and were alfo in like fort fet up at the King's entry here, upon the town and Court gates, where they do ftill remain in open fhew to the world.

I am well informed, that the French King maketh reckoning to have of his fufpect towns and fubjects, about three millions of franks, and his charge in going up and down, to punifh his fubjects, borne.

I am alfo credibly informed, that there be four fhips of war in fetting forth at Newhaven, which are faid to be for the voyage of Brazil, and that there be four others in Brittany, which are bruited to be for Peru.

A great Perfonage of this Court hath faid (as I am right well informed) that if the King had not thus been constrained to feek to chaftife his fubjects, your Majesty's realm had ere this felt him.

I am informed, that the French King mindeth to make a citadel at Calais, which fhall ftretch to St. Peter's church, and that the haven fhall be conveyed into the town.

I am alfo well advertifed, that there is order given to Monf. de Trez, Mafter of the Ordnance here, to convey to Calais both munition and artillery; and that the galleys fhall be brought about, and remain there.

I am alfo informed, that becaufe the galleys fhall be the better able to fight with fhips, and to turn in their fight, that they have here devised

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devised to make a part of them shorter, and to make a new mould of galleys.

ELIZABETH.

I am informed, that one Hector Wentworth, an Englishman, who hath been here in France these twelve years, and speaketh good French, being withal a proper man with an auburn beard, hath of late robbed (as it is reported by him) Capt. Boys, master of the camp, who was his master; and that he is thereupon fled into England. He lately before served Charlebois, and was in Leith when it was besieged. I have not before heard of him; but if none of your Majesty's subjects heard of him at Leith, his being in England is much to be doubted; and therefore good heed is to be taken of him, if he may be found.

I am by very secret and credible means informed, that the French King hath taken up in Auvergne and Brittany, eight hundred oxen, which be part of them already in Normandy at feeding. This provision of victual in so great quantity in one place, giveth a shrewd likelihood, that they do in all places together make greater.

The Earl Bothwell shall be (as I am informed) dispatched hence forthwith; he hath promised them here to do great things in Scotland, from whence he hath received lately great comfort by one who is come thence with great diligence by sea.

I am advertised, that de Noailles, and de Croc, who, as it was told me, should be sent out of hand, shall not now be dispatched of long time, if they be sent at all; and that this matter is to no purpose, but to abuse your Majesty and the Scots both together.

I do also understand, that the French King hath sent order to Marseilles for the bringing about of eight galleys more.

Since the writing of this before, I understand that the Earl Bothwell is staid from going into Scotland, and hath a present given him of six hundred Crowns, and is made Gentleman of the King's chamber, with the fee thereto belonging.

And

ELIZA.
BETH.

And thus having none other occurrents to write presently unto your Majesty, I beseech God long to preserve the same, in health, honour, and all prosperity.

From Orleans, the 17th of Nov. 1560;

Your Majesty's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Secretary Cecil.

1560.
Nov. 17th.

S I R,

I WISH, that others would, as you will, weigh these men's proceedings and my advertisements, to be of more importance than news, and of more danger than not to be cared and provided for in time. Make your reckoning, these men will essay their fortune, and the King of Spain can be contented to suffer her Majesty to fall into such terms, as you must be driven to pray him to do with that state and realm, what pleaseth him: he accounteth you must needs come to that point, since you displease all, and satisfy no party. I trust there shall be such seasonable counsel given in time, as your enemies and suspected friends shall be beguiled of the expectation they have of our calamity. The Lord of St. John's of Scotland, in his negotiation, hath behaved himself very discreet and (as he is taken to be) like a sincere gentleman. His behaviour hath been such in his charge, as his country hath had good cause to be pleased with him, and the Queen's Majesty no less, for her own particular affair. I pray you be a mean, that her Majesty may allow well of his doings; and that he may find the same, when he cometh into

into England. I understand by letter that I lately received from Sir ^{ELIZABETH.} Thomas Chamberlain, of the 2d of this month, that he can obtain of the King of Spain as yet little favour, to keep one of his servants from the inquisitor's apprehension. I say, that amity will prove to us worse than enmity. Assuredly I fear him more than the French, and he will occasion more inconveniency amongst us. Let not her Majesty be deceived, for surely he meaneth not well, whatsoever his Minister there doth make shew of. I think, notwithstanding that these men did promise to send their Ministers to satisfy her Majesty for the stay of the ratification forthwith, you shall not hear of them these twenty days, as I have intelligence. Peradventure Monf. de Sevre * shall say somewhat to retain you longer in hope, that the Spring may be advanced before you think of the matter. I am sure this refusal of the ratification doth trouble you there at home; but, will you know how it cometh to pass? I will be short in it. First, to save their honour and interest, whereupon I know they were egged by the Spanish practice and Ministers. These occasions did grow from themselves; but these were not sufficient. From thence they were to do thus by these reasons animated; your hasty disarming, and specially of your navy; her Majesty's great inclination to live in pleasure and quietness, which they say they did many ways copy; that neither Counsellor nor conductor was rewarded; that all men, which did at this time service, were displeased; that her Majesty would do her own pleasure in all things, so as there was none to take the special care of her affairs. And lastly and chiefly, that they take it for truth and certain, that her Majesty will marry the Lord Robert Dudley; whereby they assure themselves, that all foreign alliance and aid is shaken off, and do expect more discontentation thereby amongst yourselves. Thus you see your sore; God grant it do not with rankling fester too far and too dangerously. Thus I

* French Ambassador in England.

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humbly

ELIZABETH.

humbly take my leave of you. From Orleans the 17th of November, 1560.

Your's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

1560.
Nov. 18th.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Secretary Cecil.

Mr. SECRETARY,

THIS Gentleman, bearer hereof, is sent presently from his Master, the Duke of Savoy, in legation to the Queen's Majesty, to congratulate with her Highness for her happy avenement to the Crown. He saith, the unquietness in his Master's country, and his raw coming thither, after the late accord, have been causes, that this office hath been done no sooner; his name is Monf. de Morette, nephew and heir to old Morette, that hath been Ambassador from late King Francis, to King Henry VIII. well known to my Lord of Pembroke, and my Lord Marquis of Northampton, and to my Lord Admiral, and my Lord Chamberlain, and both to Mr. Wotton. This man was, in the late French King's days, Gentleman of his chamber, and since retired and settled at home in Piedmont.

Besides this kindness of congratulation, he hath to break with her Majesty, in the Duke his Master's name, for marriage with the Duke of Nemours, which, I perceive by communication passed betwixt us, he mindeth to set forth, if the matter be not too far passed at home, as all the bruit is here, that it is. For this Gentleman was told by the Pope's Ambassador here, that he should come into England in good time to her Highness's marriage, with the master of her horses. In case this Gentleman shall find her Majesty at liberty

liberty from any such thing, and that her Highness do shew any inclination to hear of this his overture; I perceive by him, as he said, that the King of Spain and this King too, are so desirous to have it take effect, that they will both travail, what they can, to bring it to pass. Hereof I thought good to advertise you, as I have done the Queen's Majesty, by my letter now unto her.

ELIZABETH.

This Gentleman's good usage, and good entertainment by all good means, I recommend unto you; he is a very good Courtier, and therefore knoweth what belongeth thereunto, and so will report as he findeth. And so I take my leave of you. From Orleans the 18th of November, 1560.

Your's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen.

1560.
Nov. 28th.

IT may please your Majesty, since my letters to the same of the 17th of November, sent by your servant, Mr. Jones, and others from me, of the 18th of the same, sent by Monf. de Morette, Ambassador from the Duke of Savoy to your Majesty; I do understand that the Bishop of Limoges, Ambassador from this King to the King Catholic, hath of late insinuated to the said King, that the Nobility and States of Scotland have very evil accomplished the late treaty accorded at Edinburgh, betwixt the said King's Deputies and the States of Scotland; and much less performed their duties and obedience, which doth belong to good subjects: whereupon the said Ambassador hath, on his Master's behalf, required the King of Spain to give the French King, his good brother, advice and counsel, how

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ELIZABETH.

he shall intreat the said Scots his subjects, and in what wise he may best by his counsel proceed with them. The King of Spain answered, doth the King my brother mean in this matter sincerely? and doth he demand mine advice, as one, that would be by me advised? or doth he move this matter to prove what I would say to it? It was answered by the said French Ambassador, that the King his Master meant sincerely, and as one that desired to have his good brother's advice and counsel in that matter. Then the King of Spain said, I will send to mine Ambassador, resident in France, to know of the King my brother, how he mindeth of himself to proceed with them, whether by force and restraint, or by other means.

Agreeable whereunto, Monf. de Chantonet, Ambassador, resident here, for the King Catholic, the 18th of this present, had audience of the French King, and did on his Master's behalf desire to know, how and after what sort this King did mind to proceed with his subjects of Scotland. It was answered by the French King and his Council, that he the French King did not mind to use force against them, if he might otherwise have them well ordered, and obedient subjects.

The 19th of this present, Monf. de Chantonet, after his audience, did advertise me of the premises by his Secretary.

What this brotherly participation betwixt these Princes, of the Scottish affairs, doth mean; and to what end this kind communication of these matters will tend, I know not. But because your Majesty did, by your letters of the 19th of October, command me to advertise Sir Thomas Chamberlain, your Highness's Ambassador in Spain, what speed I should receive of these men, touching the ratification of the treaty, and of such other things as should seem to me meet for your Majesty's further service; I have advertised Sir Thomas Chamberlain, by my letter of the 20th of November, how

I have

I have proceeded with these men, and how I am by them answered; ELIZABETH.
 whereby my whole doings may appear unto him at good length, with such other things, as I thought convenient for him to know, meet for your Majesty's service; the copy of which my letter to the said Sir Thomas Chamberlain, I have herewith sent to your Majesty, whereby the same may perceive at good length the particularities of this my whole dispatch to your said Ambassador in Spain.

It may like your Majesty to be further advertised, that I have intelligence, that the King of Spain hath in great haste given order to stay the five thousand Spaniards in the Low Country; yea, though they be embarked, and upon the sea, to revoke them, if it be possible, who should have gone to Sicilia.

The Prince of Spain is still sick of his quartan, and judged not to be long lived. It is now said that he shall be fianced to the Dowager of Portugal, his father's sister, who (some think) shall come to be Regent in Flanders, after she is so fianced.

The posts do come apace and often of late, betwixt the French King and the King of Spain. Of late, (whatsoever the matter meant) Mons. de Chantonet would not suffer Gamboa, your Majesty's pensioner, to speak with me, who came to this town the 17th of this month, from Spain, in post, to pass into Flanders, for so the said Gamboa sent me word.

Whereas in my letters of the 17th of this month, I did advertise your Majesty, that the Earl Bothwell did not so soon return to his country; since that time the said Earl is departed suddenly from this Court, to return into Scotland by Flanders, and hath made boast, that he will do great things, and live in Scotland, in the despite of all men.

He is a glorious, rash, and hazardous young man; and therefore it were meet his adversaries should both have an eye to him, and also keep him short.

This

ELIZABETH.

This King, by an indisposition, that he hath found in himself, within these three or four days, since my last letters to your Majesty of the 18th of this month, hath resolved, at the dispatch hereof, not to stir from this town, until the Assembly of the Estates be past.

I have herewith sent to your Majesty, a letter that Sir Thomas Chamberlain, your Ambassador in Spain, did lately send to me.

The Lord Seton had his dispatch from hence the 22d of this month, and had eight hundred franks paid him of the arrearages of his pension due to him, for being Gentleman of the King's Chamber; and for the satisfaction of his money disbursed by him for their provisions at Leith, and for such other necessaries as he did then furnish them of, he hath assignation upon the Queen's domain in Scotland. This King and Queen hath also given him in reward, an abbey in the north part of Scotland, which is thought, if he may enjoy it, will be worth to him yearly four thousand Crowns of the Sun. When the said Lord Seton did take his leave of the French King, the King thanked him for his good and faithful service done unto him, and did assure him to reward him liberally for it; and so hath the said King assured him, that such in Scotland as have, from the highest to the lowest, offended him, and the Queen his wife, shall know and feel what it is to be disobedient subjects to such a great Prince.

The Lord of St. John's weighing the refusal of the ratification, the state and maniment of the affairs of his own country, and considering these men's determinations, together with such intelligences, as he hath of the French's intents towards them in Scotland, did lately require me to recommend unto your Majesty the special care and order of their affairs in Scotland. For, said he unto me, unless the Queen your mistress do order and manage our matters, considering the time and terms that we stand in, we be utterly undone; and consequently great danger and peril will after ensue to her realm.

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For, said he, unless her Majesty direct us, and put substantial order amongst us, we shall among ourselves fall asunder, and so bring upon us great confusion; and such is our case and danger, as it requireth no delay.

ELIZABETH.

The Lord Seton hath a letter from the French Queen to your Majesty, and hath also in charge to present unto your Highness the said Queen's picture, as I hear.

These men do much depend, among others, upon the advice of one Henry Sencler in Scotland, for the Lord Seton hath letters from hence, to the said Sencler.

It may please your Majesty to be further advertised, that the state of the Prince of Condé his process, at the dispatch hereof, was in these terms: The King had sent his Chancellor and sundry Presidents, together with others of his learned Council, to the said Prince, to examine him, three or four times. The Prince would never answer them to any interrogations, but refused them all, as insufficient to examine him; saying, that the knowledge of his cause did not appertain to men of their quality; for being a Prince of the blood, he said, his process was to be adjudged either by the Princes of the blood, or by the twelve Peers; and therefore willed the Chancellor and the rest to trouble him no further.

The King of Navarre's Chancellor is taken prisoner, and is looked for to be brought hither every day. Monf. de Jarnac did take him in the said Chancellor's own house in Guyenne, whereat many do much marvel, the said Jarnac being always esteemed well affected to the King of Navarre.

The Abbot of St. Saluce returned from Brussels by this Court to Rome; he had conference with the Cardinal of Lorraine of your Majesty; and, as I understand, made here a very lewd discourse of your Majesty, of your religion, of the fruits thereof, and of your proceedings. He tarried here eight days, and departed hence towards Rome the 20th of this present.

I am

ELIZABETH.

I am credibly advertised, that one named Villemort, servant to the late Dowager of Scotland, hath advertised hither, that Inskeith in Scotland must be better manned, that it may be upon all events, and in despite of all men kept, and rather than fail, to put the soldiers of Dunbar into the said Inskeith, if they cannot otherwise furnish it with men; for the keeping of that isle is of such moment, as having that, the French may, when it pleaseth them, take what place they like, upon either side of the Firth.

Whereas I have written above, that the Lord Seton should bring a letter to your Majesty, from the French Queen, and therewith her picture; the said Lord Seton departing hence the 22d of this month, left his servant behind at the Court, to bring after him his dispatch to Paris. In the end his servant hath been answered, that the said French Queen will neither write at this time to your Majesty, nor send her picture, excusing that the same is not yet made; which the said Lord Seton taketh in very evil part, and will cause him to be a worse Frenchman, and a better Scottishman.

I am well advertised, that the 25th of this month, assignation was given out, for the payment of twenty-five thousand franks, for the use of the galleys at Nantz.

It is said that the Duke of Savoy hath fortified a place in Savoy named Salviano; and hath with certain Protestant Cantons in Swisse made a league, which doth somewhat offend these men. But in the mean time the Duke doth that which is meet for him.

The Lord of St. John's had his dispatch here the 26th of this month; he took not his leave of the King by reason of his indisposition, but of the Queen and Cardinal of Lorrain, he had very good words, and was required to use the part and office of a good Minister towards the estates of Scotland, and of a good subject towards his Sovereigns. He hath a letter from the King and Queen to the said estates; the copy whereof I send your Majesty herewith.

with. And so I pray God long to preserve your Majesty in health, ^{ELIZABETH.}
honour, and all felicity. From Orleans the 28th of November,
1560.

Your Majesty's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Secretary Cecil.

1560.
Nov. 28th.

S I R,

THIS bearer, Alexander Clarke, Gentleman of Scotland, of whom you have heard often in my letters, and not so often as he hath deserved, hath gotten leave to go into his country, for such purposes as he will declare unto you: somewhat I have written to her Majesty thereof by him; his service done to the Queen's Majesty hath been such, as I am sorry to miss him for that respect. But I am the less sorry, for that his being in Scotland cannot but be to very good purpose, as the occasions of these men's practices be offered presently. I am sure you shall be made privy of that I have written to her Majesty, and therefore need not reiterate it again. As for other particularities, he is sufficient, and instructed to satisfy you at large. I do most heartily recommend him unto you; his deserts have been great, and his intent and means to deserve more, is worthy to be liberally considered, and well looked on. I have also besought her Majesty to consider him both for the past, and for his and others better encouraging to continue. It may please you to help forth the matter, so as he may know and feel whom he hath served; and also that my recommendation in his behalf doth work for him, as he may of good right challenge at my hands. Indeed

X

this

ELIZABETH.

this journey of his at this time doth more rise of my device, than of his particular motion; albeit, I am contented if it be otherwise coloured. There shall hardly be any thing there by the French faction practised, but he shall know it. His further ordering I refer to your good judgment. If it please the Queen's Majesty to speak with him, it must be done with great secrecy, lest the French there know of it. He accompanieth thither the Lord Seton, and meaneth to make the court to the French Ambassador with shew of offers and service to be done to their Prince, for so he must go to work; and yet his nature is so honest, as he can very hardly dissemble. I have at his request given him a memorial of my opinion, how to will the Lords in his country to proceed presently, considering the time, the state, and the terms of their affairs, which I have willed him to shew you, to be ordered and altered as you think good. Sir, at the dispatch hereof I had not heard from the Court since the 19th of October. This Prince is sick, and very casual; and thereupon dependeth great matter, and here assure you the discourse is made thereafter. Thus I humbly take my leave of you. From Orleans the 28th of November, 1560.

Your's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

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Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen.

ELIZABETH.

1560.
Nov. 28th.

IT may please your Majesty, this bearer, Alexander Clarke, Gentleman of Scotland, one of the archers of the guard of corps, of whom your Majesty hath oftentimes, by my letters, and by others credit, sent from hence, heard of, having gotten leave to return into Scotland, I cannot but most humbly recommend to your Majesty. He hath stood me in such stead for your Majesty's service (as partly Mr. Kyllgrew doth well know), that I could not well have been without him, nor your Majesty well spared the service that he hath here done; the same hath been no common service. His diligence and painfulness, without regard of hazard to himself, hath well tried his faithfulness to the advancement principally of your affairs, and the liberty and benefit of his own country. I can more and better testify of him, than I can write in his commendation. He goeth now into Scotland, and partly being vehemently suspected, as a principal doer in these late stirs here (and therefore the worse looked on), and so mindeth not to hazard himself in that suspicion, but by his absence for a time, if it may be, to bury it, and partly being by me procured so to do, for the better service of your Majesty in those parts, doth at this time make this voyage. The cause thereof is, the French I perceive intend, and are in hand with great practices there, to work their purpose, as to win some and to sow discord betwixt others, specially to breed dissension betwixt the Earl of Arran and the Lord James * and his favourers, by means whereof he shall be able to do much good betwixt them: he is also in good credit with Lord Seton, and so shall he see always into his doings and practices, and likewise by that means into the French faction's workings: he shall be able to oversee more of their doings than another of more appearance: the colour he hath to return with the Lord Seton, is to good

* Afterwards Earl of Murray, and Regent.

ELIZABETH.

purpose for many respects, so as thereby your Majesty may be from time to time truly advertised of all the secret workings of the French Ministers in Scotland, in having order and means how to send. Such a Minister of trust is to be made of. I humbly beseech your Majesty to have consideration of him and of his deserts, that he may know and feel whom he hath served, and also with the better will to continue his good heart and devotion towards your Majesty, which your goodness, I trust, shall be well employed. It may please your Majesty, I being determined to make this dispatch the 23d of this month, was occasioned to stay the same until the date hereof; since which time I understand this King's sickness doth so succeed, as men do begin to doubt of his long lasting. The constitution of his body is such, as the physicians do say he cannot be long-lived: and thereunto he hath by his too timely and inordinate exercise now in his youth, added an evil accident; so as there be that do not let to say, though he do recover this sickness, he cannot live two years; whereupon there is plenty of discourses here of the French Queen's second marriage; some talk of the Prince of Spain, some of the Duke of Aufrich, others of the Earl of Arran.

Thus Almighty God long preserve your Majesty in health, honour, and all felicity. From Orleans the 28th of November, 1560.

The Duke of Florence arrived at Court the 5th of this month; his train is said to be eight hundred horse. Of that his so sudden voyage, here be very many and sundry discourses.

Your Majesty's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

ELIZABETH.
1560.
Nov. 29th.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Secretary Cecil.

SIR,

HOWSOEVER others be inclined to give ear to these mens delays, and to be pleased to be brought into some expectation by their new sending of new Commissioners thither first, and from thence into Scotland, there to assemble a new Parliament; I trust you be too wise to be with such toys so carried away, or to be advised by those dealings; but I am sure you see so far into the matter, as there is no cause why any body ought to look for a better issue now, than at the last assembly, which was done by this King and Queen's authority, as appeareth by express words in the last accord made with the estates of Scotland. And I am sure you be too well experimented to think that Noailles, late Ambassador in England, one of the Masters of the Requests, and the same in no great grace here, and Le Croc, a Gentleman, servant to the King and Queen, should have a greater trust and authority committed to them, to proceed absolutely in this matter, or that more trust, credit and expectation of promise-keeping, and ratification of the treaty, should be looked for at their hands, or by their means, than there was at the end-making, by a Bishop of this King's Privy Council (as Monf. de Vallence * was), or of Monf. de Randan, then Gentleman of the Chamber, and Captain of fifty men and arms, and now Knight of the Order. And besides the state and circumstances of the cause and handling of it, which I trust you do thoroughly consider; I will at this time say no more to persuade you to do that, which is in this case meet to be done; but tell you, that these men do all with secrecy, speed, and policy, give order by hook or by crook, to man, victual, and reinforce the places they hold in Scotland. Sir,

* Monluc.

I pray

ELIZABETH

I pray you dispatch H. Middlemore, my steward, unto mewith the next letters; for I may very evil be so long without him. The Lord James, the bastard of Scotland, would be in time there in his own country somewhat recompensed either of some Abbey or of some pension, some ecclesiastical promotion, in recompence of his pensions here restrained: for the which he hath of late made means here. This old saying is a true saying, *Munera sevos illaqueant duces*: if the allotment of his recompence might be so used, as the Earl of Arran might be seen to be the principal doer thereof, it would in my opinion do no harm. Thus I humbly take my leave of you. From Orleans the 29th November, 1560.

Yours, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

After my simple judgment, her Majesty and her Council must be as careful for the well ordering of Scotland at this present, as the same and they be for the well governing of Ireland or Wales. And upon all events, that matters may be so managed, as England may make their *

* The concluding part of this sentence is not decyphered.

ELIZABETH.

1560.
Nov. 29th.*Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen.*

IT may like your Majesty to understand, That since the date and dispatch of my letters of the 28th of November to your Highness, I have been credibly ascertained, that the French King hath dispatched two from hence suddenly for Scotland, with charge to use all their best means with the King's assured there, and other, that by practice, disguising, and whatsoever devices may best serve for that purpose, to put out of hand, and with great secrecy, as much victuals, as many men, and necessaries belonging thereunto, into Dunbar and Inskeith in Scotland, as may be done. What their names are, I cannot yet learn; whether they all go by sea, or pass through England, or embark by Flanders, I know not. But it is told me, that two ships are ready at Dieppe, to go thither, as merchants laden wares, and go without shew, and yet not unprovided of as much munition as may be carried without open knowledge. It is like enough, that these two may go that way. This matter being worthy the looking unto; I refer to your Majesty's good and grave judgment, to be considered, whereof I thought necessary to advertise the same.

Whereas the Lord James, Bastard of Scotland, had, out of a Bishopric and Abbey of this country, a yearly pension of 2,500 crowns; he hath made suit to this King and Queen, to have not only the arrearages of the same, since it hath been staid, but also the continuation thereof. The Queen hath made him answer, that like as this his falling from his duty hath been cause of the stay thereof, and deserveth his exemption from the same; so his demerits again towards her is the only way to purchase her favour, and the said pension, which, if he accomplish according to the trust she hath of

ELIZABETH.

him, he shall not only be sure of his satisfaction, but also of all the good favour that may be shewed him, besides his pension, whether he dispose himself to be ecclesiastical or temporal.

The name of one of them, that is now sent into Scotland, is named Pellegrin. At the dispatch hereof I understand, that there is great lamentation at the Court, for the French King, of whose recovery they begin to mistrust. In my simple opinion, it shall not be good to make any of the Scots privy to the danger that this King is in. And thus I pray God long to preserve your Majesty in health, honour, and all felicity. From Orleans the 29th of November, 1560.

Your Majesty's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

1560.
Decem. 1st.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to the Queen.

IT may like your Majesty, since my letters of the 29th of November to your Majesty, wherein I advertised your Highness, of the French King's state in his sickness, I understand, that he is somewhat amended, but yet very weak, and so feeble, as he was not able to keep the feast of the Golden Fleece, on St. Andrew's day, whereof he is Knight; and now the physicians mistrust no danger of his life for this time.

And whereas in the same letter I wrote to your Highness, that the French Queen was not then minded to send your Majesty her picture, nor letter, which she had erst promised, as I advertised your Highness by my letter of the 28th of the last; I understand now, that she hath given order, that my Lord Seton shall both bring

bring a letter from her to your Majesty, and also her picture. Whether it come of her better mood, or by the said Lord Seton's importune suit, to have the carrying thereof to your Highness, I know not. I understand, that the French King hath pressed two and thirty captains, they to be ready with their bands upon the next warning. And thus I pray God long to preserve your Majesty in health, honour, and all felicity. From Orleans the 1st of December, 1560.

ELIZABETH.

Your Majesty's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

Sir Nicholas Throckmorton to Secretary Cecil.

1560.
Decem. 1st.

S I R,

GOOD accord and unity to be had among all the States of Scotland, is to be maintained and conserved. But if the Devil will cast a bone among them, the Earl of Arran's amity, and his friends, be most fit for England, for many respects; and he, in mine opinion, if he be wise, or well counselled, must needs be English again; for if he see deeply into the world, and into his own case, that must be his best reckoning; and therefore at all events, if the Scots do now, upon the refusal of the treaty, resolve to seize into their own hands and custody Insketh and Dunbar, and to put out all the Frenchmen from thence (as methink of reason and necessity they ought to do), then the custody of the same two places would be committed to the guard of some wise and fit men of the country, and such as be wholly at the Deputy of Edinburgh's devotion; for thereby if

Y

some

ELIZA-
BETH.

some turn their coats, and fall to catch that catch may, the said Earl being ours, we shall not make the worst end for ourselves. For all the country on this side the rivers of Clyde and Firth, shall be at the Queen's Majesty's devotion, which if you will consider, is no evil frontier, and thereby also may the better order her realm of Ireland; but these matters must be cunningly handled. This bearer Alexander Clarke, will disclose unto you, if the Lord Seton keep promise with him, some folk, that are to be looked to, who are the intelligence givers to the French.

From Orleans the 1st of December, 1560.

Yours, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

Mr.

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No. VIII.

Mr. Jones to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Ambassador in France.

[This is an extremely curious letter, and, together with the others, in which the Queen's marriage with Lord Robert Dudley is mentioned, plainly shews the general opinion, both at home and abroad, of her inclination that way. Indeed Elizabeth herself does not disclaim it.]

S I R,

WITH all the diligence I could make, I arrived not at the Court here till Monday at night, the 25th of November, at what time I delivered my letters to Mr. Secretary, and attending all the next day upon him, I spake not with the Queen's Majesty till Wednesday at night at Greenwich, whither she came to bed from Eltham, when she dined and hunted all that day with divers of my Lords.

From the Original in the Possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.

I had declared unto Mr. Secretary, before I spake with her, the day after my arrival, the discourse of the Lord of St. John's, and your Lordship's opinion, touching the declaration in French, which he willed me to put in writing, as I did; Mr. Secretary shewed both the same to the Queen's Majesty, as her Highness in my talk with her told me, and a third person knew the same, but how, I know not. I will tell your Lordship the story, and then you may guess at it. There was occasion, as your Lordship knoweth, in the

ELIZABETH.

discourse, to speak of the delivery of the letters to the French King and Queen in the favour of the Earl of Arran, and of that the French Queen said, the Queen's Majesty would marry the Master of her horses. The 26th of November all my Lords of the Council dined at the Scotch Ambassador's lodging, where they were very highly feasted. I repaired thither to shew myself to my Lords, where, after I had attended half dinner time, my Lord Robert rose up, and went to the Court, and in the way sent a gentleman back to will me to repair thither after him, as I did, after I had declared the message to Mr. Secretary. Being come unto him, he asked me, whether the French Queen had said that the Queen's Majesty would marry her horse-keeper, and told me he had seen all the discourse of your Lordship's proceedings, together with the intelligence, and that Mr. Secretary told him, that the French Queen had said so. I answered, that I said no such matter. He laid the matter upon me so strong, as the author thereof being avowed, I would not deny, that the French Queen had said, that the Queen would marry the Master of her horses. This was all he said to me, and he willed me, that I should in no case let it be known to Mr. Secretary, that he had told me thus much, as I have not indeed, nor mean not to do; whereby I judge, that Mr. Secretary did declare it only to the Queen, at whose hands my Lord Robert had it. The same night I spake to Mr. Killigrew, and having delivered your Lordship's letter and told him of the intelligence; he said in the end unto me, with, as it were, a sad look, I think verily, that my Lord Robert shall run away with the hare, and have the Queen; to whom I answered nothing. Thus much I thought good to write before I came to speak of my proceeding with the Queen's Majesty.

The 27th, I spake with her Majesty at Greenwich, at six o'clock at night, and declared unto her the talk of the Ambassadors of Spain and Venice, and the Marquis *, and your advice, touching the General

* Of Northampton.

Council.

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Council *. When I had done with the first point of my first tale, By my troth, said she, I thought it was such a matter, and he need not have sent you hither, for it had been more meet to have kept you there still. I said, that if it had been written in cypher, it must have come to the knowledge of some others. Of nobody, said she, but of my Secretary; or else he might have written it in my own cypher. When I came to touch nearer the quick, I have heard of this before, quoth she, and he need not to have sent you withal: I said, that the care you had was so great, as you could not but advertise her Majesty of such things † as might touch her, and that you took this to be no matter to be opened, but to herself. When I came to the point that touched his race ‡, which I set forth in as vehement terms as the case required, and that the Duke's || hatred was rather to her than to the Queen her sister; she laughed, and forthwith turned herself to the one side and to the other, and set her hand upon her face. She thereupon told me, that the matter § had been tried in the country **, and found to be contrary to that which was reported, saying that he was then in the Court, and none of his at the attempt at his wife's house; and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty nor her honour. Quoth she, my Ambassador knoweth somewhat of my mind in these matters. She heard me very patiently, I think the rather because I made, before I spake unto her Majesty, a long protestation, as methought I had need to do, considering that my Lord Robert knew thereof as much as he did. Her Majesty promised me *fidem, taciturnitatem, & favorem*, the last whereof I found towards myself, but as for your Lordship, she not once made mention of you unto me, unless that

ELIZABETH.

* That the Queen should send thither.

† Of the talk in France of her marriage.

‡ Lord Robert Dudley's.

|| Of Northumberland.

§ This relates to the report of Lord Robert's having his wife privately murdered.

** Probably Coroner's Inquest.

†

once



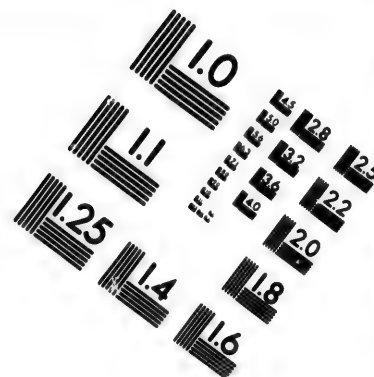
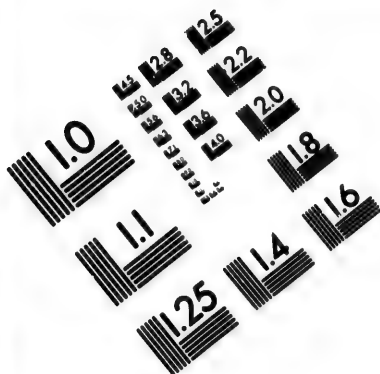
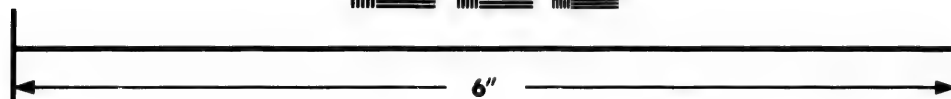
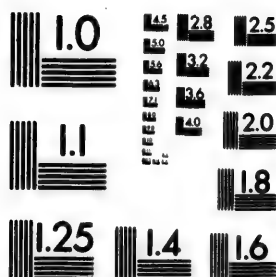


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ELIZABETH.

once or twice she asked, whether your Lordship willed me to declare this matter unto her, as I affirmed you did. Thus much have I thought good to write, touching the Ambassador of Spain's talk. For * the Venetian Ambassador's talk, she protested, that she never to any Ambassador or other, disclosed any and nobody but Mr. Secretary knew of these matters; who was, she said, wise enough. When I rehearsed the terms of *veneficii & maleficii reus*; she caused me to repeat the same twice or thrice, which methought did move her more than that I said touching the Ambassador of Spain's talk. For the Marquis, she believed the first part, touching his affection towards her; and for the last of that he reported, touching her Majesty's discourse with him for the not marrying of any other subjects, she affirmed unto me, that it was never spoken unto him, touching any such matter.

Touching the Council at Trent, and the confederation, and therein touching the Scots and Almaines, she said, that the Scots were *populus sine capite*, but the *others* † and her Majesty heard one from another, and that she did make assured account of them. Nevertheless there was none named unto me; but how secret that matter is made, it may appear by the Italian fool, who, upon provocation, talked openly of the same, and devised upon the means of sending, even as I had debated the same with the Queen's Majesty. I did recommend unto the Queen's Majesty such as spake with me before my departure thence, and such others as your Lordship commanded me, the services of whom her Majesty took in right gracious part, as her Majesty said, she would wish to be known. I mean Mr. Cavalcanti; and for Mr. Clarke, I set out as much his service in France, as ability to serve in Scotland; though I did not press the same, being moved to it by that I perceived somewhat, the Queen's Majesty's disposition for Scotland very cold. She said, she did not know him, but

* It should seem, that all these talks related to Lord Robert.

† The Germans.

that she was glad to hear of his service. I spake unto her Majesty, touching Noailles; of the strait league between the French King and the King of Spain; and of the practice of their division of the two realms between them.

ELIZABETH.

And as for Calais, I had good reason to persuade the Queen's Majesty that it should never be restored; for Mr. Bourdin hath 700 acres of ground in the country, and will build there; and one hath built already without the town as much as hath cost 3000 crowns; and they mind to perfect their huge fortifications out of hand; with divers other matters, which I learned by reason of my long tarrying there against my will, by want of wind and good passage.

The Queen's Majesty looketh not so hearty and well as she did, by a great deal; and surely the matter of my Lord Robert doth much perplex her, and it is never like to take place, and the talk thereof is somewhat slack, as generally misliked, but of the setters forth thereof, who are as your Lordship knoweth.

My Lords, for the most part, as Pembroke, Clinton, Bedford, Northampton (who have told me so much themselves), do like well your Lordship's letters and advertisements at this time, and seem to be careful for the due consideration of them, and yet none of them have questioned with me, to know any further of them. I doubt, pleasure and pastime, with their attendants, and the folly of some who seem to make court to them whom they dislike, will either mar all, or hinder all.

I have declared unto Mr. Secretary, what your Lordship thinketh of the General Council, who wished I had not told the Queen's Majesty a matter * of such weight, being too much he said for a woman's knowledge.

I told him also in whose behalf I had spoken to the Queen's Majesty, and of all other matters, saving of the two Ambassadors' talk. He heareth what I have to say very favourably, but asketh

* It was probably about sending to the Council of Trent from hence.

ELIZABETH.

me no further touching any matter. I am sorry to see how he is troubled; and as if, meseemeth, overwhelmed with business; but all lighteth upon him without any assistance. He looked for more, and asked me, whether I had not brought him any other letters from your Lordship.

Mr. Secretary was in hand with me to know, whether I brought not two letters to the Queen's Majesty; for, he said, the letter he received from the Queen's Majesty back again, was not so thick as when he delivered it: I told him I knew not, for I made not up the packet.

Mr. Treasurer * received your Lordship's letter very thankfully, but when I went from him, and he had read it over, he was clean changed, and not over-courteous. He fell sick the next day, so as I could not speak unto him, and I do well know that letter and the matter of the other were the occasion of his evil. He is half ashamed of his doing for the Lord Robert.

My Lord Admiral is very diligent in his charge; two new ships be now making of great burden, and other vessels shall be made to meet with the gallies.

Religion is neglected; all men discontented; no man considered; Captains sell their harness; and every man is for himself.

The Queen's Majesty stayeth the creation. The bills were made for the purpose, at the day appointed. When they were presented, she with a knife cut them asunder. I can by no means learn, and yet I have talked with such as know much, that my Lord Robert's matters will not go, as was looked for; and yet the favours be great which are shewed him at the Queen's Majesty's hands.

The Scots Lords have been feasted sumptuously at my Lord of Pembroke's, where I dined among them. They have been also at my Lord of Bedford's. As far as I can learn among the Scottish

* Sir Thomas Parry.

men,

men, if their alliance be not more established than some here would, that favour the Lord Robert, which be very and less honest, they shall be constrained, to save their necks, and to win the French favour again, to turn their coats, which doth not a little grieve them. The Scotch cause doth like well, so far as I can learn, my Lords of the Council, and the doings there in France bring the matter to a necessity. I dare not advise your Lordship to do any thing; but I judge that those things confirmed of every hand, may work a miracle, and I can see no other, but that we here stay much upon your Lordship's judgment; and though the consideration of things be great, yet undoubtedly there is great want; and will say no more.

ELIZABETH.
1560.

Mr. Middlemore, as Mr. Secretary shewed me, shall be dispatched before me. I trust not to be long after, rather to satisfy my duty, than for any hope I have to be otherwise considered. I humbly beseech your Lordship to excuse me that I have written no sooner; for it was so long ere I could speak with the Queen's Majesty, and I spake with none before her, but Mr. Secretary, as I could not write how I had proceeded, and your Lordship to be assured, that I have not passed my commission in any one point of my charge. The last of November, 1560.

Your's, &c.

R. J. JONES.

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Letters

men,

ELIZABETH.
1561.

No. IX.

From the
Originals in
the Possession
of the Earl of
Hardwicke.

Letters from Sir William Cecil, and from the Earl of Bedford, to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Ambassador in France.

[In the letters from Cecil, the reader will have ample proofs of his wisdom, integrity, and moderation. It is impossible, at this distance of time, to explain the cause of the dissatisfaction of this great Statesman. The Queen his Mistress (as Sir Robert Cecil truly says of her, in a letter printed in *Nugæ antiquæ*) "was sometimes more than a man, and sometimes less than a woman." But the defects in her character and temper, though considerable, should not detract from her real merit; and she will deservedly remain one of the greatest Sovereigns that ever filled the English throne.]

May, 1561.

From Sir William Cecil, to Sir N. Throckmorton.

S I R,

WE shall now shortly see whether my Lady your wife's journey, shall be to fetch you home or no; for upon answer made to Dr. Somer by the Scotts Queen, you may boldly write to the Queen's Majesty for your return according to her Majesty's former answer. But, to say the truth, who shall succeed, for your service of the Queen's Majesty? Mr. Knolles hath been much spoken of; but two things may yet be required in him, although he have good furniture of the best, that is outward hability of wealth,
and

ELIZABETH.
1561.

and acquaintance in such public affairs, so mixed with divers practices as these be. Here hath been no small ado to refuse this Popish Messenger; not that any counsellor was outwardly unwilling, but no man was found so earnest and bold as to adventure the advising of such as were of other minds. This Bishop of Aquila * had won more with former preludes than was easy to overtake; but in the end, thanked be God, he findeth all his conceptions and practices unjointed, and under foot. What he will do to recover them I cannot tell. My Lord of Suffex is ready to depart into Ireland, and shall, I trust, proceed with a posting against Shane Oneyale. The Earl of Kildare is now here, and hath his friends also here, as you know; and, I think, for understanding of the truth, there will be some coupling betwixt them in argument, the Irish Earl to deprave the other's governance; and the other (if he be so pressed) to charge those last in service.

I find that I am taken to be drawn against the Earl of Ireland; but, surely, I confess to you, I will know both, before I stand to any side. Although I see no cause but to lean with our English governance against such as always have fought, and of course will seek, to shake off from their necks our regiment.

The Consuls of Hamburgh have written to the Queen's Majesty touching the stay of her armour, and affirm it to be done by commandment of the Princes, in respect of an information given that it was to be sent into Muscovia; and therefore upon her Majesty's assertion that it is not so, they will deliver it. Whereupon her Majesty hath written thanks to them, with blaming such slanderers of her, and avowed her property and meaning.

I understand that this was a malicious practice of this Bishop here, by means of Lazarus Vanfwenden; such is their hollow meaning towards us. If the marriage that way hath pass, we must

* The Spanish Ambassador in England.

ELIZABETH.
1561.

enter a reciproque amytie that ways, wherein I would ye should bethink yourself. To end; the Queen's Majesty, I assure you, taketh your last writing in right good part, and willed me to require you that some goldsmith there might be induced indirectly to come hither with furniture of agrets, chains, bracelets, &c. to be bought both by herself, and by the Ladies here, to be gay in this Court, towards the progress. What is meant in it I know not; whether for that which many look for, or for the coming in of the Swede; but, as for me, I can see no certain disposition in her Majesty to any marriage; and any other likelihood doth not the principal here find, which causeth him to be perplexed.

May 1561.

Your's, ye know,

W. CECIL.

1561.
July 14th.

From the Same to the Same.

S I R,

ALTHOUGH this may seem an unlooked-for resolution to you, considering the course of your writing, to have all courtesy shewed to D'Oysel, and so consequently the Scottish Queen better satisfied, yet it hath so fallen out here, that, although in all other things D'Oysel hath been well and gently used, yet so many reasons have induced us to deny the principal request * that I think it shall be both of the wise allowed, and of our friends in Scotland most welcome.

The very noise of D'Oysel's coming had stirred some maze in sundry heads, and the expectation of the Queen's coming had erected

* The principal request was, that the Queen of Scots might cross the seas into Scotland, upon Elizabeth's safe-conduct.

ELIZABETH.
1561.

up Huntly, Bothwell, Hume, and others, that it could not be agreeable for us to feed them in their humours; and by this our denial, our friends in Scotland shall find us to be of their disposition, and so stop them in their humours.

I think plainly the longer the Scottish Queen's affairs shall hang in an uncertainty, the longer will it be ere she shall have such a match in marriage as shall offend us. Your advertisement of the offer of the Portugal, seemeth so acceptable, as the Lord Admiral will send a vessel of his own, of almost one hundred tons, and the Mayor and Mr. Garrett will venture one thousand pounds, &c. *

Sir, where you would have me advertise you my own mind, whether you should write to the Queen's Majesty of such things as you hear worth to be known to her Majesty; only two things move me to incline to a step. The one is my friendly care of you particularly; the second is, the regard that I have to preserve the estimation of protestants in the Queen's Majesty's judgment, which is already not increased; and if your sharp reports should come from such, I fear the misliking would be turned to them. And yet, comparing both these with the good that I know the reporters meant her Majesty, I dare not conclude either to forbid you, or to promise you as much as toucheth yourself. You can consider, *jacta curam super Dominum, et ipse te enutriet*. It serveth me sometimes to adventure, but yet I will never have my friend adventure so far as myself.

Sir, I most heartily thank you for my son, in whom as ye shall see faults rise up, so, I pray you, root them up by sharp advertisement; for I see that long sufferance of any thing, maketh the removing of it harder; and specially one fault engendreth another in our corrupt natures.

I cannot certainly write unto you of the King of Sweden's coming. His Chancellor being not of acquaintance with English conditions, doth his purpose more hurt than he thinketh.

* This relates to a project of a voyage to the coast of Guinea.

The

ELIZABETH.
1561.

The Queen's Majesty hath plainly written to this King, that, considering she is not as yet disposed to marriage, she doubteth that in coming, and not obtaining his suit, he should change his love into offence; and therefore I think, upon the receipt of those lines, he will stop. I am most sorry of all that her Majesty is not disposed seriously to marriage; for I see likelihood of great evil both to this State and to the most of the good particular persons, if she shall not shortly marry. There hath been a matter secretly thought of, which I dare communicate to you, although I mean never to be an author thereof; and that is, if an accord might be made betwixt our Mistress and the Scottish Queen, that this should, by Parliament in Scotland, &c. surrender unto the Queen's Majesty all matter of claim, and to the heirs of her body; and, in consideration thereof, the Scottish Queen's interest should be acknowledged in default of heirs of the body of the Queen's Majesty. Well, God send our Mistress a husband, and by time a son, that we may hope our posterity shall have a masculine succession. This matter is too big for weak folks, and too deep for simple. The Queen's Majesty knoweth of it, and so I will end. I have advertised the Lords of Scotland of the Queen's Majesty's answer to D'Oysel. De Sevre said yesterday privately, that he looked for such an answer as this was. Yesternight, I thank the Queen's Majesty, she took a supper at my rude new cottage, wherein I thought my costs well bestowed for her gracious acceptance of all my offers. Sir Thomas Challoner is putting himself in order to go into Spain to take Mr. Chamberlain's place, and now it resteth to compass your coming home. I am had here in continual jealousy, and you in like mistrust. Commend me to my good Lady Throckmorton. The Queen's Majesty thinketh long for the Paris goldsmith: he shall be free of custom for all that he shall not sell. God be with you. From London the 14th of July 1561.

Your's assuredly,

W. CECIL.

ELIZABETH.

1561.
July 8th.*Earl of Bedford to Throckmorton.*

AFTER my very hearty commendations to your Lordship; by your last letter that I received from you, for the which and all others I give most hearty thanks, I understood most chiefly of your good health, and for occurrence little or none, being referred to Mr. Secretary's advices and discourses to him written; of whom, because I asked not, neither did he tell me any thing thereof, your letter seemed to be as good as if it had come from Brigstock park. Mr. Killigrew your great friend, one of no small estimation and credit with Lord Robert, can and doth, I doubt not, as well as other your agents and friends here, write unto you how things pass; to whom I must desire you to be referred, for as much as I have taken my leave of the Queen's Majesty, and bidden the Court farewell, and am now, to-morrow, going to Woborn in Bedfordshire, and so further into Northamptonshire to hunt this summer; from whence you know nothing can be written but that which might make you wish yourself there also; and so would I you were, at such idle times as you could pick out, to disport yourself after your great business.

From London this 8th of July 1561.

Your Lordship's right assured,

F. BEDFORD.

ELIZABETH.

1561.
Aug. 26th.*From Cecil to Throckmorton.*

S I R,

YOUR servant Davis hath lingered now longer than I thought he should in the beginning, upon this Court, to come with some intelligence of the Scots Queen's return home. The 19th of this present, in the morning early, she arrived at Leith with her two galleys, her whole train not exceeding sixty persons of meaner sort. The Lords of Scotland were not nigh, being warned only against the last of this month; only there was at Holyrood-house the Lord Robert, to whose house she went and there remained, and gave orders with speed to assemble her Lords. This was the whole I could learn, being so written in haste at the same instant. The Queen's Majesty's ships that were upon the seas to cleanse them from pirates, saw her, and saluted her galleys; and staying her ships, examined them of pirates, and dismissed them gently. One Scottish ship they detain, as vehemently suspected of piracy.

Since the last conflict in Ireland, whereof I wrote of late to you, Shane O'Neyle hath made new request to come hither, but he addeth some conditions to it not palatable; as, to have a new garrison planted at Armagh this last July, to be removed. Sir William Fitzwilliams hath been here to declare the same, and to require the Queen's Majesty's pleasure. Indeed I see such various events of those wars, that, so surety be seen to that he come, I regard less of opinion of estimation. If he come, the matters may surely and honourably fall out; if he come not, howsoever account is made of honour, I doubt of surety. Upon him dependeth the whole weal or loss of Ireland; if ye yield, all is the Queen's Majesty's at present; if contrary, the rest will be in danger. He hath unluckily, in June last,

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* Lady
† With

taken Callogh O'Donell and his wife the Countess of Kildare, and keeping him in chains, committeth the country to Collogh's brother Hugh O'Donell, sister's son to Shane, and so hath at his will all Tyrconnel, a matter of no small consequence if James M'Onell should be won to him.

ELIZABETH.
1561.

Though Lady Catherine * is in the Tower, and near the time of delivery of child; though herself remain prisoner, nobody can appear privy to the marriage †, nor to the love, but maids, or women going for maidens. The Queen's Majesty thinketh, and so do others with her, that some greater drift was in this; but for my part I can find none such.

From Stortford the 26th of August 1561.

Your's always assured,

W. CECIL.

From the Same to the Same.

S I R,

SINCE this bearer Killigrew came over, I thought best to stay him all this time, thinking that some matter should have happened worth his tarrying and return; but seeing no such chanceth, knowing his desire to return, I have thought to dispatch him with these my own letters. I do my uttermost to procure Mr. Dannett to come thither, but he so grunteth thereat, partly for sickness hanging upon him though not possessing him, partly for poverty inclosing him round about, that, if it were not for your satisfaction, surely I would not thus deal to offend him as I do. I perceive her Majesty will not be induced to relieve his last disease,

1561.
Decem. 22d.

* Lady Catherine Grey, whose mother (Duchess of Suffolk) was niece to Henry VIII.

† With the Earl of Hertford.

A a

otherwise

ELIZABETH.
1561.

otherwise than his ordinary wages. I might lament my place that I hold, being, to outward appearance, because of frequentation with her Majesty, of much credit; and indeed, of none at all. But my remedy is only to leave the place; wherein my only grief is, to see likelihood of such successors, as I am sure shall or will destroy all my good purposes. I may not write, but yet I may lament. What is my credit to help any body, may appear in myself, that have been forced to sell off the land which I had when I came to this place with the Queen; one hundred and fifty pounds of good known lands*; and, at this instant, I am with burden of debt compelled to ask leave of her Majesty to sell away my office in the Common Pleas, that hath been the only stay of my living these fifteen years, and her Majesty doth licence me so to do. But so that I might be able to procure furniture for others to serve her Majesty, I cared not for myself; and in this term doth stand the sending away of Mr. Dannett.

I have carried in my head, with care, means how her Majesty should from time to time conduct her affairs. I see so little proof of my travels, by reason her Majesty alloweth not of them, that I have left all to the wide world. I do only keep on accounts for a show, but inwardly I meddle not; leaving things to work in a course, as the clock is left when the barrel is wound up. It is time to end these complaints to you who cannot remedy them; but yet because you write to me divers times of matters worthy your consideration, thinking that you have bestowed them well on me, in hopes that I will fashion them and put them forth, when you see I have no comfort so to do, I thought not inconvenient to note thus much to you of my imperfection.

Here be no small practices in forging, some think, of the succession, if her Majesty should not marry or leave issue. This song hath

* However the case might be then, it is notorious that Cecil raised a very considerable fortune out of his long course of service.

many

many parts; but, for my part, I have no skill but in plain song. Others be devising how to hinder religion, the rather for that her Majesty seemeth easy therein; and if I do any good, I am sure therein I do no hurt; and in respect thereof, principally, do I the rest of all my service.

ELIZABETH.
1561.

I find a great desire in both these Queens to have an interview; and knowing the diversity of both their intents, although I wish it, yet I know it dangerous to be any singular doer therein.

Shane O'Neyle cometh over with my Lord of Kildare under a protection, though thereof is not meet to use speech. He will complain of my Lord of Suffex; but my Lord of Suffex hath, for the Queen, more cause to complain of them, as he sayeth. Howsoever it is, authority must be favoured. My Lord of Suffex hath licence to come hither; who shall succeed him I know not, if it be not Sir H. Sidney. I think my Lord Ambrose * at length shall be, on Christmas day, Earl of Warwick, a matter often promised, and often broke off. From Westminster, December 22d, 1561.

Your assured Friend,

W. CECIL.

* Dudley, brother to Lord Robert.

ELIZABETH.
1561.

No. X.

Copied from
the Advocate's
Library at Edin-
burgh.

A Note of Consultation had at Greenwich, primo May 1561, by the Queen's Majesty's commandment, upon a request made to her Majesty by the King of Spain's Ambassador, that the Abbot of Martinengo being Nuntio from the Pope, and arriving at Bruxells, might come into the realm with letters from the Pope and other Princes to the Queen..

P R E S E N T.

1561.
May 1st.

The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England,
William, Marquis of Northampton,
Henry, Earl of Arundell,
Edward, Earl of Derby,
William, Earl of Pembroke,
Edward Finés, le Admiral,
William Howard, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen,
Sir Edward Rogers, Comptroller,
Sir Francis Knolles, Vice Chamberlain,
Sir William Cecil, Secretary,
Sir Ambrose Cave,
Sir William Petre,
Sir John Mason,
Sir Richard Sackvill,
Mr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury.

IT

IT was devised and accorded by all and every one of the said Counsellors, without any manner of contradiction made by any, that the Nuncio should not come into any her Majesty's dominions; and so by special speech of every Counsellor expressed; raising therefore divers sundry and good reasons; whereof these that follow were the chief, although in utterance much more earnestness, and length of speech was used by divers of the said Council, for more confirmation of their arguments, than is here used.

ELIZABETH.
1561.

First, It is both against the ancient laws and late laws of this realm, that he should enter into the same, or into any the Queen's Majesty's dominions; for, by the ancient laws, yea when the Pope had most credit in this realm, no Legate or Nuncio might come into the same; for both he should have licence before, and also make a solemn oath on the other side the seas, that he should bring nothing with him, nor attempt any thing in this realm, to the derogation of the King of this realm, and liberties thereof; and of this there be many examples of ancient time remaining of record, as well of the denying and refusing of the Pope's Nuncio, to come into this realm; as also it is manifest by act of Parliament. It is enacted, that no foreign Prelate shall use any power spiritual or ecclesiastical within this realm, and if any shall, by word or deed, set forth or maintain the power or jurisdiction spiritual of any foreign Prelate or person hereafter claimed and used within this realm, or shall put in use any thing for setting forth the said pretended power; that then every such person shall be punished for the same, as further appeareth by the statute; and therefore it is not only against the laws of this realm that any such Nuncio should come hither, but also that any person should, by word or deed, allow his coming.

Secondly, although it were lawful, and without danger for pain of forfeiting, as it is not, yet having regard to the Queen's Majesty's Crown and royal estate as Queen of England, by the Laws and acts of Parliament of this realm and in the time of Henry VIII.

her.

ELIZABETH
1561.

her Majesty's noble father, to which all the subjects of this realm have been sworn, it is manifest, that allowing the authority of the Pope, according to such jurisdiction as he claimeth, there will follow one great peril to the surety and truth of the Queen's undoubted title to the Crown of England: the which at present standeth, both by the laws of God and this realm, so sure and firm, that no true subject can, without evident suspicion of evil and traiterous meaning, allow the Pope's jurisdiction in this realm to any purpose; especially being contrary to the truth of the Queen's Majesty's interest and right; as, amongst other things, evidently appeareth by the travel that her Majesty's adversaries have made to disprove her title by colour of the Pope's laws, being contrary to the laws of God; a matter of greater consequence, than can be expressed in few words.

Thirdly, the great perils and inconveniences which are likely to follow, are such, that no man which loveth quietness, can consent to his coming in.

For whereas in winter-time the only sound of coming of a Nuncio hath wrought, in sundry evil-disposed persons, such a boldness and courage, as they have not let both to break the laws with great audacity, and disperse abroad false and scandalous reports of the Queen's disposition to change her religion and government of this realm; a thing very false; but also in some places have conjured with the devil, and cast figures to know the continuance of her Majesty's life and reign, which God long continue; how may it be thought, without great and evident danger, to have the said Nuncio come hither after these preparations, and against Summer, in which time the Devil hath most opportunities to make trouble and tumults? And as the evil sort, which desire alteration and change, might receive comfort hereby, and be encouraged by the sequel to attempt great enterprizes, with a face of some other purposes, as always rebellions have cloaks; so, on the contrary part, the true quiet and faithful subjects might have cause to forbear to shew

ELIZABETH.
1561.

shew openly their affection and duty to the service of the Queen and realm. And in this matter it is to be considered, that as in a man's body after long sickness, being nearly well recovered, and the good humours quieted, and the evil overcome; if the good humours be troubled, and the evil fed and cherished, and so error committed, the peril would be greater to the body than the first sickness was: even so the common weal being so late, so well recovered, settled and quieted, and the evil members thereof, if any were, either reformed and put to silence by law and order, and the good quieted by law and order, if this coming of the Nuncio, being already looked for, should be permitted; thereof should come such a disturbance and change to the body of the common weal, as thereof the peril would be greater than it was at the first, or than presently can be understood. For nothing doth more damage to a commonwealth than changes against law or opinions, or hopes of changes, whereby do daily grow great dangers, both to the estate of the Prince, and also of the good subjects, and in the end ruin to the whole common weal; whereof examples past, too many and too lamentable to be remembered.

Now to answer them that would have the Pope's Nuncio to come in. It may be said, that the Nuncio will swear, that he will do nothing prejudicial to the Crown and estate of this realm; and yet it may be doubted whether he will swear: but howsoever he may be induced to swear for his advantage, he cannot observe his oath, except he would come into the realm, and neither speak nor deliver any letters from the Pope: or else he may presume, that it is not perjury to break promises with such as he is taught to repute as heretics. If he should swear, and afterwards break his oath, what peril might ensue, is easily to be seen, to them which should assent to his coming in.

And although the Queen's Majesty might dispense with the pains, yet no man of honesty would be willingly content to be reputed in the common weal a breaker of a weighty law, that was made so

ELIZABETH.
1561.

lately by a universal consent of the whole realm in Parliament, in the which law also all the whole realm hath interest at this day, and namely every such inheritor and possessor as hath any thing by the law of this realm, but contrary to the laws and constitution of Rome. What man in the late time of Queen Mary saw not, what peril was toward the subversion of the policy of this realm? So that we might be noted of great folly, if at any time hereafter we should adventure the like danger. But to answer the truth of the matter, what an abuse is this to bear us in hand, that no harm is meant by the Pope, when he had already done as much as in him lieth to hurt us? The Pope, even at this instant, hath his legate in Ireland, who is already joined with certain traitors there, and occupied in stirring a rebellion; having by open acts deprived the Queen of her title there, as much as in him lieth, although that the power that her Majesty hath there, as well of public Ministers as of a number of good subjects, do little esteem such attempts, as things whereof shortly revenge shall be made. And why should we not believe that this man would do the like, as much as in him lieth, in this realm? It cannot be denied, but the last year, when the Abbot St. Salute was sent from the said Pope, of the same errand and tour, to Brussels, where the Nuncio now is, about this time also of the year, it was purposed he should have done his best to have raised a rebellion here in this realm, under colour of religion; and why hath not this Abbot the like sweet errand? There is no reason to be shewn; but contrarywise more reason is now to prove it likely in this man, than was then for the other; especially such preparations being used before-hand, this present year, to prepare the hearts of discontented subjects, as have by divers means been used otherwise than the last year, and it is notoriously known and discovered. It hath also been said, if he come, he shall not lodge with any Ambassador, but be lodged apart by himself; forsooth it is a simple offer, and so to be weighed, and not worthy the answering.

But

ELIZABETH.
1561.

But that which for the coming of this Abbot maketh more, is this, and very meet to be truly answered; that this Nuncio cometh, as is pretended, only to move the Queen to send to a General Council as other Christian Princes (as it is sayd) have been moved. To this may well and truly be answered, that indeed nothing can better please her Majesty, than to hear of a General Council: and among all worldly things that might happen unto her, no one thing could be thought more happy, than that she might live to hear of such a General Council, as might tend to make a unity in Christendom in the matters of religion; to the furtherance whereof her Majesty will spare neither travel, treasure, nor any thing most dear to her. And therefore her Majesty, when she shall understand a Council to be called in such a sort, and meeting at such a place, and at such time, and with such conditions of freedom, for all Christian Princes and estates to come thither, as may apparently tend to make concord and unity, and not to maintain faction; will of her own mere motion, and devotion toward the unity of Christendom; as being one of the principal Monarchs thereof, and not subject to any Potentate spiritual under God; send thither such meet persons, as she doubts not shall declare the sincerity of her mind, and the earnestness of her affection to have one unity of all matters in Christ's religion.

But for that as yet her Majesty cannot understand that the Council now mentioned is so called, nor her Majesty so orderly admonished thereof, as might seem, by the same mind of concord, in truth of Christian religion, but rather to the contrary; her Majesty cannot make presently a resolute answer to send thither. For if it be called by the Pope's authority only, and begun as a continuation of the last summoned Council at Trent, as by the printed examples of certain libels, published this last month of November and December, appeareth, and that it be not a Council for any person to have any right decision, but such as be already sworn to the maintain-

ELIZABETH.
1561.

ance of the Pope's authority, then shall her Majesty be very sorry, finding therein no direction, meaning to concord by consultation, but either to maintain affection by cover and name of a General Council, as former examples have declared. And in this part her Majesty will conceive some doubt and lack of such good meaning towards her as is pretended: for if other Christian Princes, as the Emperor, the French King, and King of Spain, have been long past sent unto, and their opinions first required for the place and time of this Council, and their consents desired before it was appointed; in the day also now past, then, at the last, to present to the Queen, being a Prince of Christendom, and having interest in the well thereof, such a messenger as this, to admonish or to exhort to send to that Council, without requiring her opinion therein as well as of other Princes; her Majesty and her whole realm may justly think, that there hath been no such honourable nor just consideration had of her estate, and of her realm, as was meet, nor that she may hope of any other thing but a determination, as much as in the Pope shall lye, to prejudice her Majesty and her realm, and all other estates of her possessions, and to establish and confirm the authority of the Pope with all his abuse and errors.

No. XI.

ELIZABETH.
1563.*Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, to the Earl of Leicester.*From the
Original, in
the British
Museum.

My Honourable good Lord,

I AM sorry that my present disease is such, as there are left me 1563. April.
but these two remedies, either to swallow up those bitter pills lately received, or to make you a partner of my griefs, thereby something to ease a wounded heart. At my wife's last being at Court, to do her duty as became her, it pleased her Majesty to give her a privy nippe, especially concerning myself, whereby I perceive she hath some * jealous conceit of me, and, as I can imagine, of late digested. How far I have been always from conceiting any greatness of myself, nay how ready I have been always to shun applauses, both by my continual low sail, and my carriage, I do assure myself, is best known to your Lordship, and the rest of my nearest friends; if not, mine own conscience shall best clear me from any such folly. Alas, what could I hope to effect, in the greatest hopes I might imagine to have in the obtaining the least likelihood of that height? Will a whole commonwealth deprive themselves of so many blessings presently enjoyed, for a future hope uncertain, in favour of one inferior to many others, both in degree, and any princely quality? Will they forsake a Prince, both for excellent qualities, and rare virtues of nature, and of great hopes of an inestimable blessing by her princely issue, in reason of her youth, for a poor subject in years, and without any great hope of issue? No, no, I cannot be persuaded they would, if I should be so foolishly wicked to desire it, or that my

* The supposed title of Lord Huntingdon jealousy about her succession is well known; to the Crown came, through a female, from and a strong instance of it has been already George, Duke of Clarence, youngest brother given in the imprisonment of Lady Catherine to Edward IV. Queen Elizabeth's extreme Grey.

ELIZABETH
1563.

mind were so ambitiously inclined. I hope her Majesty will be persuaded of better things in me, and cast this conceit behind her. And, that a foolish book, foolishly written *, shall not be able to possess her princely inclination, with so bad a conceit of her faithful servant, who desires not to live, but to see her happy. What grief it hath congealed within my poor heart (but ever true) let your Lordship judge, whose Prince's favour was always more dear unto me, than all other worldly felicities whatsoever. This I am bold to make known to your Lordship, humbly desiring the same, when you see your opportunity, to frame a new heart in her Majesty's princely breast, whose power I know is not little in effecting of far greater matters than this; for never shall there be a truer heart in any subject, than I will carry to her Majesty, so long as I breathe. And so I rest

Your poor Servant and Brother,

H. HUNTINGDON.

April 1563.

* John Hale's, in which some considerable persons were concerned.

ELIZABETH.
1569-70.

No. XII.

Letters from the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

From an incorrect Transcript in Dr. Forbes's Collection, now in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.

[These political love-letters (for they can pass under no other denomination), from a very artful woman to a very weak man, are, from the characters of the parties, and the consequences of their intimacy, thought to deserve publication. It is singular, that, with all the commendation bestowed on the beauty of Mary Queen of Scots, there are no two portraits of her which resemble each other; that by Isaac Oliver, in the King's possession, and that in the Duke of Devonshire's at Chiswick, by Zuccero, are undoubtedly more advantageous to her than any others we know of. Brantome commends her person and her wit; and Sir Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, says of her to Secretary Cecil, "She hath an alluring grace, a pretty Scotch speech, and a searching wit clouded with mildness. Then, joy is a lively infective passion, and carrieth many persuasions to the heart, which ruleth all the rest; mine own affections, by seeing the Queen's Majesty are doubled, and therefore I guess what sight might work in others. But, if I might give advice, there should very few subjects of this land have access to, or have conference with this Lady."

Hatfield Papers, Vol. I. p. 510.]

From

ELIZABETH.

1569-70.
January 31st.*From the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.*

Mine own Lord,

I WROTE to you before, to know your pleasure if I should seek to make any enterprize; if it please you, I care not for my danger; but I would wish you would seek to do the like; for if you and I could escape both, we should find friends enough; and for your lands, I hope they should not be lost; for, being free and honourably bound together, you might make such good offers for the countries, and the Queen of England, as they should not refuse. Our fault were not shameful; you have promised to be myne, and I yours; I believe the Queen of England and country should like of it. By means of friends, therefore, you have sought your liberty, and satisfaction of your conscience, meaning that you promised me you could not leave me. If you think the danger great, do as you think best, and let me know what you please that I do; for I will ever be, for your sake, perpetual prisoner, or put my life in peril for your weal and myne. As you please command me, for I will, for all the world, follow your commands, so that you be not in danger for me in so doing. I will, either if I were out by humble submission, and all my friends were against it, or by other ways, work for our liberties so long as I live. Let me know your mind, and whether you are not offended at me; for I fear you are, seeing that I do hear no news from you. I pray God preserve you, and keep us both from deceitful friends. This last of January.

Your own, faithful to death,

Queen of Scots, my Norfolk.

From

STATE PAPERS.

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ELIZA-
BETH.

1569-70.
March 19th.

From the Same to the Same.

Myne own good Lord,

I HAVE forborn this long time to write to you, in respect of the dangers of writing, which you seemed to fear; but I must remember you of your own at tymes, as occasion serveth, and let you know the continuance of my truth to you, which I see by this last look much detested. But, if you mind not to shrink at the matter, I will die and live with you. Your fortune shall be mine; therefore, let me know, in all things, your mind. The Bishop of Ross writes to me, that I should make the offers to the Queen of England now in my letter, which I write generally; because I would enter into nothing till I know your pleasure, which I shall now follow. I have heard that God hath taken your dear friend Pembroke, whereof I am heartily sorry; albeit that, nor other matter, trouble you to your heart; for else you leave all your friends and me, for whose cause you have done so much already, that I trust you will preserve you to a happier meeting in despite of all such raylers; wherein I suspect Huntingdon, for such like talk. But, for all their sayings, I trust in God you shall be satisfied with my conditions and behaviour, and faithful duty to you, whenever it shall please God I be with you, as I hope for my part the maker shall never have the pleasure to see, or hear my repentance or discontentment therein. I have prayed God to preserve you, and grant us both his grace; and then let them, like blasphemers, feel. So I end with the humble and heartiest recommendations to you of your own faithful to death. This 19th of March.

From

From

ELIZABETH.

1570.
May 17th.*From the Same to the Same.*

I HAVE received, my own good constant Lord, your comfortable writings, which are to me as welcome as ever thing was, for the hopes I see you are in to have some better fortune than you had yet, through all your friends favour. And albeit my friends case in Scotland be of heavy displeasure unto me, yet nothing to the fear I had of my son's delivery up to Queen Elizabeth, and those that I thought might be cause of longer delaying your affairs. And, therefore, I took greater displeasure than I have done since, and that diminisheth my health a little. For the Earl of Shrewsbury came one night so merry to me, shewing that the Earl of Northumberland had been in rebellion, and was rendered to the Earl of Sussex, Lord Lieutenant of the North; which, since, I have found false; but, at the sudden, such fear for friends combring me, I wept so till I was all swollen three days after. But since I have heard from you, I have gone abroad and sought all means to avoid displeasure for fear of you; but I have need to care for my health, since the Earl of Shrewsbury looks me to, and the pestylence was in other places. The Earl of Shrewsbury looks for Bateman to be instructed how to deal with me, because he is ablest and clean turned from the Earl of Leycester; this I assure you, and pray keep that quiet. I have no long leisure, for I trust to write by one of my gentlemen shortly more surely. I pray you think and hold me in your grace as your own, who daily shall pray to God to send you happy and hasty deliverance of all troubles, not doubting but you would not then enjoy alone all your felicities, not remembering your own faithful to death, who shall not have any advancement or rest without you. And so I leave to trouble you, but commend you to God. This 17th day of May.

Your own Queen.

ELIZABETH.

1570.
June 14th.*From the Same to the Same.*

My good Lord,

IT has not been small comfort to me to have the mean to discover at length, with our trusty servant the Bishop of Ross. that I might more plainly discover in all matters nor betray it, both for the better intelligence of the State there to me, and of my heart to him; but especially for the better intelligence betwixt us two; being means whom I have declared my opinion in all things to use them by your advice, either to cover, as you please and shall best serve your turn, for that will I have respect unto above all other things, or to accept or refuse whatsoever conditions you think for both our weale; for without yours I will not have any. And therefore command him, as for yourself, and as your trusty servant; and believe him of all that he will assure you in my name: that is, in effect, that I will be true and obedient to you, as I have promised, as long as I live; praying you, if you be not, as you hoped you should be, delivered, think no displeasure; but seek the best remedy, and having amply communed with him, I will not trouble you with long discourse but remitting all to him, I will, after my hearty commendations to you, my good Lord, pray God to send you your hearty desire. From Chattefworth, the 14th of June.

Your own, faithful to death.

Cc

From

From

ELIZABETH.

1570.

From the Same to the Same.

SUNDAY I received a writing by Borthwick from you, whereby I perceive the satisfaction you have of my plain dealing with you, as I must do of my duty. Considering how much I am beholden to you many ways, I am glad the grant of my good-will is so agreeable to you. Albeit I know myself to be so unworthy, to be so well liked of one of such wisdom and good qualities, yet do I think my happe great in that, yea much greater than my desert. Therefore I will be about to use myself so, that, so far as God shall give me grace, you shall never have cause to diminish your good conceit and favour of me, while I shall esteem and respect you in all my doings so long as I live, as you would wish your own to do. Now, good my Lord, more words to this purpose would be unseemly to my present condition, and importunable to you, amongst so many business; but this, trust you, as written by them that means unfeignedly. This day I received a letter from you by this bearer, whereby I receive the thought you take of my health, which, thanks to God, is much better than it was at his departing, but not yet very strong, nor quit of the forenes of my side. It causes me to be more heavy and penfive than I would or need to be, considering the care you have of me, whereof I will not thank you, for I have remitted all my causes to you to do as for yourself. I write to the Bishop of Ross what I hear from the Duke of D'Alva, Governor of the Netherlands. Let me know your pleasure at length in writing, what I shall answer. Now, my Norfolk, you bid me command you; that would be besides my duty many ways. But to pray you I will, that you counsel me not, to take patiently my great griefs, except you promise me to trouble you no more for the death of your ward. I wish you had another in his room to make you merry, or else I would he were out both

both of England and Scotland. You forbid me to write; be sure I will think it no pains, whenever my health will permit it, but pleasure, as also to receive your letters, which I pray you to spare not, when you have leisure without troubling you; for they shall fall in no hands where they will be better received. The physicians write at length; they seem to love you marvelously, and not dislike of me. We had but general talk, and some, of your matters; but not in any body's name; therefore I answered nothing, but giving ear soberly. When Borthwick goeth up, you shall understand all; in this it is unintelligible; mean time I must warn you, when I hear any thing touching you. Argyle sends me word expressly, that when he met at Stirling with Murray, the Regent of Scotland, he assured him, I should never come home, and that he had intelligence for to be quit of me, remembered him of his promises. Borthwick will write it to the Bishop of Ross, and my Lord Fleming. Argyle prayed me, if you were my friend, to advertise you hastily: Take of this what pleases you, but I am sure they will be traytors to you and me; and if they were in Turkey, you and I were never the worse; albeit I will not be importune. But, and this Summer past, I hope by the good all year. God preserve you from all traytors, and make your friends as true and constant. From Wingfield late at night this 24th.

Your assured,

MARY.

ELIZABETH.
1570.

ELIZABETH.
1581.

From the
Originals in
the Paper
Office.

No. XIII.

Letters from Sir Edward Stafford, Ambassador in France.

[If one may judge from the remains of their correspondence, Throckmorton and Stafford were the ablest Ambassadors whom Queen Elizabeth employed in France during her long reign. The former was a deeper politician, and the more designing man; the latter had more of the courtier and the gentleman, and was particularly qualified for that Court, by having served in the army, and having formed a general acquaintance in France, of both parties. Though he writes incorrectly, it is always with good sense, and thorough knowledge of the world. In the affair of the Barricades, it appears from Thuanus †, that the Duke of Guise behaved with particular attention towards him, and Sir Edward, with equal spirit and politeness, refused to accept his protection.]

His Lady was an extraordinary character, and, by her accomplishments, equally fitted for the French court. She was niece to the Duke of Norfolk who was beheaded, and after the death of her first husband the Lord Douglas Sheffield, was privately married to Leicester, by whom she had the famous Sir Robert Dudley. The dread of the Queen's resentment, and the favourite's malice, who disowned the contract, was the occasion of her second marriage with Sir Edward Stafford; he was imprisoned for it, but she appears to have made him, if not a very good wife, a very agreeable companion; her conduct, indeed, not being defensible. The suit which Sir Robert instituted, after the Queen's death, in the Star Chamber, to establish the validity of his mother's marriage with the Earl, and the extraordinary manner in which the proceedings were stopped, are fully set forth in Dugdale's Baronage. By this act of injustice, the country lost the service of an able man in Sir Robert Dudley, who took refuge in Italy; and Charles the First, during his troubles, was, for a sum of money, induced to grant a patent of peerage to his daughter, by the title of Duchess Dudley, in the preamble to which patent the hardship of her case is fully acknowledged.]

† See also *Satire Menippée*, & *Memoires de la Ligue*.

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Decem. 18.*Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen.*

MAY it please your most excellent Majesty, to give me leave to advertise you what I find here, fit for your Majesty, since I writ last to Mr. Secretary. Still, of all sides, and very credibly, I am advertised, that there is a meaning and a good-will, to annoy your Majesty by all means, by the way of Scotland, and private Councils had about it; whereto, as I writ before to Mr. Secretary, Mannyngville is called, and private conferences had with him, with a meaning to send him into Scotland, and to have men to go, to the number of 1500, and to land at Dumbritton, and to fortify both the town underneath, and the castle: and withal, that levies be already making; but when I send to the places, I find nothing, but rather things in show, and given out by the Captains belonging to the Duke of Guise, than otherwise.

This I am sure of, that if there be any thing done, they must embark them, and afore they embark, there must be some preparation made for that, about which I hope I have given such order, that it shall be no sooner in hand, but your Majesty shall be advertised of it; having upon all havens, upon the coast of Normandy and Brittany, provided to have present intelligence given; besides that I have, to be surer, sent, both into Brittany and Normandy, men for the purpose.

I pray God keep his continual hand of his grace upon your Majesty, as he hath done hitherto, and to preserve you from all enterprises against your person, which your Majesty must be carefuller to look to than ever, with more care of yourself, both for your own sake, and all your poor subjects: for, assure yourself, that I know for a certainty, out of the bowels of your evil-disposed subjects here, and of them that are here furtherers of their naughty fashion, that they are out of hope of all ways and enterprises to hurt you,
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but only two; the one, by the way of Scotland, which they give out that they have assuredly at their commandment; the other, by the destruction of your person, which they hope for.

As for Ireland, they stick not to make a mock at it, and to say, they practise there, but to keep your Majesty at the gaze, and to spend your money, which they say, they can make you spend in great quantity, with a small charge of their part, and that it is the better way not any more to seek you, but at the fountain.

I know not whether your Majesty be advertised of it, but I think, if it be so, you should be sooner than we here, that the King of Spain hath sent a person of credit from him into Scotland, and treated with the King of Scots, and that there are six hundred that are either gone, or upon the point of going, into Scotland, most of them musketeers. If it be so, it is the beginning of a fire, that will burst out into some great flame, which there are naughty people here look shall not be long afore it come. There was never more of our naughty people in France than there is now, nor that speak so villainously, nor so plainly against your Majesty, nor that seek every hole open, where there may be some practices found against you. I take a course of a show of mild dealing with every body, which maketh, that they that be least evil of them, are not afraid of me, and by that means I hope that there shall no matter of ripeness be, that can come to their hands, but I shall have an inkling of it. I hope to do your Majesty some kind of service with that course, and to keep it, without your Majesty give me commandment to the contrary. It may be a dangerous course for me, if any body that loveth me not, have power to do me harm with you; but, in the mean time, being the likeliest course to do you service withal, I will put mine own particular harm in a venture, to do the best good I can to your public service.

Now to advertise your Majesty certainly of them that are likeliest to enterprize against you here, or to favour it. For the house

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of Guise, your Majesty knoweth their good-wills well enough. For the King, his course of dealing is such, and so uncertain, that, by reason of the uncertainty of his favours, there can never be assured judgment given which way he will bend himself; for, as long as Espernon hath credit, he will hinder any thing the Duke of Guise doth, and since these last quarrels, private heart-burnings are, that be not so hidden but men see them, and it is greatly feared that he will not long last, but that he will have St. Megrim's end: and certain it is, that Manningville had been dispatched long since, if he, because the Guise favoured the matter, had not hindered it: but still they prevail, for I hear it for certain, that Manningville shall be dispatched, and embark at Eau. Whensoever it be done, it will be so suddenly and secretly done, that I shall hardly have time to give your Majesty warning. And therefore, what your Majesty thinketh fit to be done in it, is to be done upon this warning, both for that your Majesty mindeth to do yourself of that side; and for me, if it be your pleasure to have me do any thing in it, that you send me your pleasure with all the expedition you may. The third, that I fear in the end, as much as any in France, is Monsieur. I see his disposition such, and so flexible, to be brought to do any thing to feed his ambitious humour; and since this last quarrel of Espernon and D'Aumale, he hath not let the opportunity fail, and fought upon the Duke of Guise in presenting of him favour, which he hath often done afore, but they would never bite at it; but now it seemeth, they make show to hearken to it. The only hope that there is left of their not thoroughly agreeing is, that they know him. And this I am sure of, that no longer ago than yesternight, the Duke of Guise had private conference with a friend of his, about the matter, and asked him advice in it, being a thing, as he said, he could not tell what to do in; the King's disposition, to grace *Petits Valets* afore him, moving him; one way and Monsieur's nature

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another way, putting him in fear to have any thing to do with him. His friend's counsel was to him, to temporize, and to entertain Monsieur with as many courteous messages, and offers of service, as he could; but to take heed he committed nothing to writing, for fear lest time would give him cause to repent Monsieur's acquaintance, which was, and had been yet, dangerous to as many as had dealt with him, considering his little ability, and less disposition, to have regard to any men of quality that did him service. And besides his accustomed use to keep any thing he had in store, to cut men's throats that had offered him service, when he was once weary of them; which was hourly to be feared, his uncertainty being so great, as he, and every body knew it. And therefore, by any means, to keep that hand, that Monsieur should have cause for the present to be contented, and he in liberty to cleave either to him, or to remain fast to the King, which was the likelier of the two, considering his present state in the Crown, with the which he had ever held, and the other's nature, which he was to stand in awe of.

The Duke of Guise embracing him, resolved to follow his counsel, and upon that spake in such sort to Drow, that under colour of being sent to the King, was sent about that matter to the Duke of Guise, who used it so well, that Drow went away marvellous well satisfied; but when he required the Duke of Guise to write to Monsieur, he desired him to pardon him. So that I hope they will one entertain another, to serve the other's turn, without, any thing at all, trusting one another.

Pinard, as I writ to Mr. Secretary the last day, is returned from Monsieur, marvelously discontented. He went for two special things, the one to bring Monsieur to the Court, according to his promise to the Queen Mother; the other, to get Cambray into the King's hand. For the first, Monsieur answered divers reasons why
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he would not come to the Court: at the length he made a demand, to have his guard lodged in the King's house, as well as the King's, which the King took in marvellous ill part. For the second, Pinard offered Monsieur from the King, that if he would put Cambray and the citadel into any man's hand that could spend in France 25,000 Franks a year, to be the Governor of it, he would pay the garrison and defend it upon his own cost and charge; or if he mistrusted that them that he should put in, might be too much at his devotion, he was contented to name unto him three of his own followers, that were men of quality; and if he would put any of them in, he would do the like; which were Rochepot, La Chastre, and Bellegarde. But to be still at the charge to furnish him whensoever he would, to spend his money, and waste and spoil his people, and to leave the government of a town of such importance in their hands, that have neither honesty to care for, nor goods to be careful of the loss thereof, what treachery soever they committed, that he would not do. Which Monsieur refusing, was the cause that Pinard came away discontented, and the King protesting that he should never be desired more to come to him, nor offered reasonable help, seeing he so little set by it.

Very wise men think here, that know Monsieur's humour very well, that when the King will no more intreat him to come, he will come of himself upon a sudden, and that he will be fain at length to desire that for Cambray that the King offereth.

Monsieur beginneth to be somewhat more followed than he was, by means of the King's dealings in this assembly; for neither the clergy is contented with him, nor the nobility. For he seeketh to draw more from the clergy than they will ever grant him, but by force; and seeketh to draw from the Nobility, part of their authority over their vassals (as they term them), which will never be done without blows. And that maketh both sorts to flock about Monsieur, more than they were minded; so that

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the best seers into the estate here do think Monsieur's greatness will begin to rise again by the King's defaults. Some, as wise as they, think, that the King, finding it, will take up in time, and that though he do not, Monsieur hath so evil used the rest of his fair offered fortunes heretofore, that any thing that can be offered him hereafter, will come but to wind, as the rest have done.

There came to me the last day, late in the night, one apparelled like a Jesuit, desirous to come to me very secretly; told me he was ready to do your Majesty all the service he might, assuring himself, that, according to your liberality accustomed, you would recompence him; and that, for my part, I would keep his dealings secret to myself; which assuring him, both of your part, for your liberality, and mine, for my secretness, he declared to me first, how he was often with the Spanish Ambassador, and now, by reason of his coat, began to be great with the new-come Nuncio; that he found great amity contracted between them, which might be prejudicial to your Majesty. That he would discover to me, from time to time, all their dealings; and that he gave me warning of one thing, that my wife was thought to be a Catholic in mind, though she made no shew of it, and therefore I was to take heed what dealings she was acquainted withal. To the first, I encouraged him all the ways I could, with assurance of my gratefulness, to the uttermost of my power, and hope of your Majesty's reward farther. For the last I thanked him greatly for it, told him it was a thing that I had always feared, and therefore desired him to have a special eye to it, that I might be advertised of it, and that, if I did once know it, I would keep her short enough. Which course I held with him, for two reasons, one, to have it given abroad that she is so, which I have gone about, ever since I came hither, to blow abroad, to make those women that be privatest about the Queen Mother, of the best sort that come to see her, to speak franklier to her. The other, to see by the blowing of it abroad by him, whether he were a man set

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of purpose to feel me or no. Which not only I have found out that way, being a thing by his means spread round about the next days after; but also I presently dogged him, and found that he went to the Duke of Guise's house presently from me, and that he is one of the

belonging, and only depending upon him.

I hope both to make his news he hath spread abroad, and him, to serve your turn, as I will make her handle the matter, and as I will use him, if your Majesty will sometimes make some letters be written to me for the purpose, that I may show.

And thus let me make an end, with making your Majesty to laugh, at one that came the last day puffing to me in great haste, assuring me, that it was certified that Segur's going into England was, to seek marriage of you for his master. And that he had carried a testimony from all the churches, that considering this last accident of the Queen his wife's, he was at liberty to put her away, marry again, which they counselled him to, and that your Majesty gave attentive ear to it. I answered him as coldly as I could, that was a thing I was not acquainted with, but that I knew your Majesty not so hot to marry, but both you would have leisure to see him free that sought you, and give us leisure to talk more of the matter afore it were done so suddenly.

Of the matters of the Queen of Navarre, I have written so at large to Mr. Secretary, that my letter being already tedious enough, I leave troubling of your Majesty, and commit you to the tuition of the Almighty. This first of December 1583.

I beseech your Majesty that this matter of my wife may not pass yourself, for if it be given out any way at all, the play is marred, and your Majesty's service that way lost.

There was news came hither yesterday, that Monsieur was, with force, come from Chasteauthierry. Some suspected he was come secretly hither, to speak with the King and Queen Mother. And all his own folks here were in a marvellous dump. But the King

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and Queen Mother were in greater, for they had advertisement he was gone into Languedoc, and were greatly amazed. Yet the certainty is not known, but I had a lacquey from a friend of mine there this morning, and letters, by the which I am assured, that Monsieur is there still, but that he went about a little love matter two or three leagues, and lay out but one night. To be more certain of all, I have, under colour of sending Monsieur a nag of mine, that Monsieur hearing of had a mind to. I have sent one purposely to present that nag, that will bring me the certainty.

Endorsed, copy of my letter to the Queen, by Painter, the first of December 1583.

Sir E. Stafford to Secretary Walsingham.

1583.
Decemb. 1st.

SIR,

FIRST, to begin with such things as have passed, or that I omitted in my last letter. The King sent for Clernaut after that he was gone, and told him, that he had sent Believre to deal about the matter of his sister; that he was very sorry with all his heart, that evil reports had made him do that which he had done towards her. That he desired him to be a means to the King of Navarre, to have all things done to his sister's honour; for, if he did not deal well with her, all the wars for religion in France should be nothing near unto that which should now be against him with extremity; that he would not have his blood dishonoured, and bid him go speak with the Queen his mother, who should tell him more; which Clernaut did without any reply, to hear her afore he would make his answer.

Thereupon he went to the Queen Mother, who delivered him the same thing the King did. And added withal, that for her own particular,

particular, in dealing well with her daughter, she would be the King of Navarre's agent in all his causes, and Clernaut's for being the mediator of it.

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To her, Clernaut answered, that the King had used the same speeches to him, to whom he had forborne to answer; for the respect that he had, put him over to farther speech with her; but to her he desired pardon, though he answered plainly, he would carry no such answer to his Master. That the ground of her dishonour came from hence, whence it was to be repaired. That if, the fault coming from hence, they would, by using extremity, seek to make him do a thing so dishonourable, he was sure he had that courage, that he would abide rather all hazards, and put himself in the protection of God; and with that departed, and would have spoken with the King again, but he found him gone through the Queen Mother's chamber a back way into the park, where in passing he had spoken with her; and Villeroy sent for him an hour after, and told him, he was sorry for the speeches that had passed from the King, and so was the King himself since, being moved with an advertisement that came to him from that country, that the King of Navarre meant presently to repudiate the Queen and take another. And desired him to be so discreet as to make no word of that to the King of Navarre, the King having spoken it in choler, which he was very sorry for.

To that Clernaut answered, that he never meant to deliver any such message to the King of Navarre, whatsoever had come of it.

For the Queen of Navarre, Bellievre had made her advance herself to Cadillac by the last news: some say now to Nerac, but the King of Navarre goeth still farther from her, and there is yet no news that Bellievre is come to him.

The King of Navarre is in Foix, and in going, surprized a town of his own called Mont de Marsant, which, by the last peace, should have been put into his hands, and they ever kept it against the King's will, as the King affirmed by all messages to the King of

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Navarre, who presently sent word to the King of it, that seemed to be very well contented with it, though I know he storm marvelously at it, and know not whereabouts they are, specially by the King of Navarre's going into Foix, which is within four leagues of Montreal, and not far off D'Anville, with whom they fear marvelously his conference.

The King is marvelously offended with the Duke of Savoy, both for the taking of Colmars, which he doth suspect is done by intelligence between him and D'Anville, as also for this falling of the Five Cantons of the Swissers from him, which he layeth all upon him as his practices: the King, as they say, stayeth but Bellievre's return, by whose hands all affairs of the Swissers pass; and it is thought he meaneth to break league with them first. The King hath sent for the Ambassador of Savoy, and hath been very earnest with him and hot: the Ambassador assureth the contrary, and useth mild speeches and assurances to that intent.

I received letters to-day from Mons. de Beza, where he writeth, that, for all the Duke of Savoy's pressing for this diet, he now flieth the tilt, and delayeth the matter, and armeth himself, so that the affected cantons now assemble a diet, to provide for the worst, both for their allies and themselves.

Also he assureth me, that the King of Spain hath drawn out most of his old garrisons out of Italy, and put in Bosognes, and that both they and the rest of them that came from the Terceras, are already at Sanonne, and shall go into the Low Country. Divers marvel that being already so strong there as he is, he bringeth in so superfluous a number of all old soldiers, without it be for some farther intent, than only the Low Country's reduction.

The King hath continued the *Grands Jours* for three months longer. Truly justice is done in them marvellous severely. At the first it was thought that it was taken in hand to attrap them of the religion; but truly it is come to all men, more to Catholics than Protestants.

Protestants. Men of great quality have been executed in it. Buffi's father is condemned in it, and is fain to fly to Cambray to his son-in-law Balagny, for succour; and his daughter, Balagny's wife, is come to this town to intreat for him, but the King refuseth pardon generally to all them that are condemned by the *Grand Jours*. And, in truth, there hath been marvellous great ordinary robberies committed, and murders by divers, that it is a shame to hear.

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I am credibly informed, that all Languedoc had been by this time in arms, if one Advignon, disguised like a mariner, had not arrived safely, with the King's packet hidden in a sachel of sand, and other such trash, at Narbonne, to the Count of Joyeuzé, in the last month. His message was, to have a special eye to all things, which, if it had not been done, divers places had been surpris'd. The messenger was laid for in divers places, and escaped hardly, having express charge from the King to go part by sea, if need were, and to cast away, if need were, the packet into the sea or some puddle, the same being made close up and heavy, of purpose.

The cause of Duke Joyeuzé's going to Rome, (better known to your Honour, than to me it can be, being afore my time) was yesterday reported to me by a man of good credit, great knowledge, and a Catholick, as follows: To obtain dispensation of the Pope, for the King to sell 100,000 crowns yearly revenue of church land. To procure the excommunication of Montmorency *tanquam fautorem hereticorum*, according to the bull *In Canâ Domini*. To buy the country of Avignon. To procure a red hat for the Archbishop of Narbonne, his brother. But finding the opinion of his credit in France inferior to his own imagination, and the Pope and Clergy of Rome more stately than he looked for, he was greatly dismayed and discontented in himself; whereupon, it is thought, his disease is a melancholy that will make an end of him shortly, as being increased by that the Pope denied him in all.

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The King seeketh in this assembly to have his gentlemen and gentlewomen that he made these last years, to be brought to the kitchen * again, and all his new officers to be discharged, with the authority of the assembly. And with this simple conclusion, I commit your Honour to God. Paris, 1st December, 1583.

Endorsed, copy of my letter to Mr. Secretary, by Painter, the 1st of December 1583.

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen.

1583.
Dec. 10th.

MAY it please your most excellent Majesty, to be advertised, that hearing, as I writ in my last to you, that Monsieur was departed from Chasteauthierry, whereof we had here a great alarm, upon divers bruits that came upon that, I sent a man thither, under the colour of presenting him a nag, to see what became of him: but I find that he was away but one night, and came again the next day, being only gone but to a gentleman's house thereby, with few company with him.

Monsieur taketh great pleasure in thinking, that they which were here were very much afraid of him, which in truth is true, and the King, as all they that be about him say, groweth in more fear of him every day, than other. I cannot assure your Majesty that it is true, but that they may have better intelligence than outwardly they make show of; but if it be, they be the cunningest carriers of it that ever was seen, and the wisest of both religions are deceived in it, and they that be nearest about them both. On Sunday was the marriage between Ferragues's daughter and Anvilly; within two days after they be married, the father, the mother, and the wife

* Roturiers.

go back again, as they say there. The marriage was very private without ceremony; and in truth, there was no great cause why it should be otherwise, for such a man's daughter as Ferrague's, and such a man's son as Anvilly was.

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Surely, Madam, there were great troubles in likelihood to grow here, in men's opinions, and no speech was but of wars, of the which I have written more at large to Mr. Secretary, not to trouble your Majesty with the reading of too tedious a letter.

Monsieur has sent hither Rasont, very secretly, to treat from him with the King of Navarre's and Prince of Condé's servants here, to see if they could make him certain how things in Languedoc and Guienne went; and to see if there were not any way possible, to bring to pass a good trust between the King of Navarre, Monsieur, and the Prince of Condé, and them of the churches: and for to bring them the rather unto it, and to take all the doubts out of their heads, he offered them to put your Majesty for to answer for his good using of himself hereafter. And that, though they had cause to suspect Monsieur for what was past, there were divers great and important reasons moved him; that hereafter, though for religion he would never take it in hand, yet if they would take arms for the *bien publique*, which had great need of it, that whilst he lived, he would take such part as they.

They made him a true account how things passed there, which he first demanded; but for the last, they answered him very discreetly, that the King keeping his promise with them, and letting them live in peace, they were to take it very thankfully, and to give God thanks.

As for your Majesty, they thought you would not counsel them any such thing. Rasont told them, that he had commandment to come and make me acquainted with it; but I hear not yet of him, yet it is four days ago; which hath made me to stay sending, expecting to hear from his mouth, some more particular matter than that which

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they had advertised. Whereunto I had prepared a dilatory answer, with all the best manner I could, if he had come; which course I mean to take in all such matters, but only to have a good ear, and a small tongue, till such time as I can advertise your Majesty, and know your pleasure.

He being not yet come, and, as I hear, going out of the town, I have thought good to stay no longer, but to advertise your Majesty of it. They that gave me this advertisement, in following the matter, drew the wire so well out of him, that he burst out that this league was propounded to the Duke of Guise, and that he had once agreed unto it; and, going to write his consent unto Monsieur, one of his friends pulled him from the paper, which almost agreeth with that I writ to your Majesty in my last letter; which brought them farther out of love with the matter, and more mistrust than before, to see that he confessed the seeking first upon the Duke of Guise afore them, which two could scarce hang well together.

At my first coming hither, as my duty was to all Ambassadors that have come to see me, I have gone about ever to assure them, as they did me, on their Master's part, of the continuance of your Majesty's friendship towards their Masters and States. Two days ago, the Ambassador of Venice came to me, and shewed me very earnest affection towards your Majesty, of that state, and a commandment from them to continue and increase the same, as a thing they desired, above all Princes of Christendom; and was very earnest with me to deliver it your Majesty, with great assurance on their part, in such kind as though, if it seemed your Majesty made account of them, that he might find it more than of ordinary compliments, he had something to say farther. If your Majesty will have me to take knowledge of any thing more than of ordinary good will towards that State, having received commandment from you, I will obey it to the best of my power. Likewise I writ to Monf. Chastillon, as one of my old acquaintance at my coming first, to renew

it, and to require his continuance of his good will towards your Majesty, which he had so often vowed to me. Last of all, to assure him, of your good will towards him, as hereditary towards him for his father's sake. I received answer from him with the greatest humility of service towards your Majesty, and offer to leave all causes in France, to venture his life for the service of your Majesty, whensoever it shall please you to command him.

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The Duke of Bouillon came the last day to the town, and sent to me, that he would come see me that afternoon. I made an excuse of business, because I would not have him come first to me; and presently after his man's departure, I went and saw him at his lodging; where he acknowledged, as much as might be, his dutiful remembrance of your Majesty's honourable using of him in England, with earnest protestations of his dutiful service, which he reiterated again the next day that he came to visit me, and that very earnestly. So did likewise Monsieur de la Vall, who came to visit me to that intent, and I rendered him the next day his salutation, and likewise to the Count Chasteauroux, who did the like to me in the honour of your Majesty, to whom he protested his service.

The Pope's Nuntio sent his Secretary the last day to Monsieur, who was received there with great kindness. I cannot hear by them that come or write from thence, that it was any other than ordinary compliments upon the Nuntio's first arrival. I shall hear more within a day or two; they had both often and very secret conference.

I send your Majesty a letter which Monsieur sent me by a Courier, and withal I received from a friend of mine a letter with a little in it, with a contrary hand in English. The words were, The Ambassador that went to her Majesty is come again, and hath brought nothing but words; whereat, what show soever we make, we are not contented. I pray God it breed not some mischief. For my part, Madam, I think nothing from thence can breed any great good, without it be with doing somebody great harm, and therefore I think

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good words is your best course, without any great deeds. I do keep that hand with them (though I write plainly to your Majesty), that they think not so; and so shall do, if they hear not the contrary from England.

Endorsed, Copy of my Letter to the Queen, by Chamberlain, the 10th of December 1583.

Sir Edward Stafford to Lord Burleigh.

1583.
Dec. 19th.

I HAVE sent your Lordship the very words of Mr. Secretary's letter to me, by Mr. Constable, and leave to your Lordship's judgment, whether any man that can see farther than the end of his own nose, may not judge or think, that there is an evil meaning in the writer*, and to suspect that there is an intention, if it be not already done, to make her that it is written from, in her name†, to think as they mean.

"Sir, I am expressly willed by her Majesty to make this present dispatch to you, thereby to require you in her name, that you do carry a very watchful eye over the Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who have of late conveyed themselves away without licence, seeking very carefully to understand what they may practise or deal in the prejudice of this Crown, wherein her Majesty hath willed me to signify to you, that she is assured that the alliance that my Lady, your wife, hath with them, shall not make you to be more remiss to perform your duty towards her, with that trust that she doth specially repose in you."

* Walsingham.

† The Queen.

Copy

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Copy of a private Letter to Mr. Secretary, about the Answer of that he writ to me of my Lord Paget.

S I R,

I RECEIVED the last day a packet from your Honour, by Mr. Constable; in it a letter touching Paget and Arundell, and the Queen's commandment for the diligent looking into their actions here. Truly her commandment must needs make me more diligent, if it be possible, not more careful; that my duty bound me to enough afore, and therefore more I cannot.

I had, afore your letter, taken the same show of careless course you writ to me of, thinking it the best; and truly I find so by experience, for by that means they take less heed of me. I have had one lodged by them, but I am fishing for one that is daily with them, and their servant; I am not out of hope to have him. They have yet dealt themselves with nobody, nor seen any man of importance. What Charles Paget doth for them I can hardly learn as yet, for he is inseparable with Morgan, and Morgan is hand in hand with the Bishop of Glascow; judge you what may be then most likely, and I must have time to seek out; yet Paget, and his fellow, both protest, that neither they do, nor will do, any thing against the Queen's Majesty, nor hang upon the French King, the Pope, the King of Spain, the Duke of Guise, nor any other, as long as necessity for meat driveth not them to it, and that the Queen will let them live to their conscience here, with reasonable favour, without undoing. I shall perchance come by their contrary dealings, ere it be long, if they deal in any thing.

Paget hath received 4000 Crowns, as I am advertised for certainty, by the hands of Bartholomew Martin here; the exchange came

ELIZABETH.
1583.

came from Mosley, a merchant in Cheapside, to Roan, and from Roan hither.

Sure I am of one thing, that, as yet, they have spoken with nobody of importance, nor any stranger of value, without it be by the second hand, by Charles Paget's and Morgan's means, without speaking with any themselves, for that yet the elder brother, nor his fellow, have not yet seen Morgan since they came.

Now, Sir, give me leave to desire you to do me so much favour, as that I may request you to tell the Queen that, what alliance soever any body had to my wife, there is neither alliance to her, to me, nor kindred to any of us both, not if it were mine own brother, that, if he enterprize any thing against her, should scape punishment in extremity, as long as I had any handle. And therefore much less, I hope, she will doubt in these, who neither have kindred, alliance, or any other matter of value in them, to draw me a thought from my duty, though I were but a private man, much more being in a place of trust; which I beseech you to tell her, as there is nothing I can receive more wrong in, than to be in that point, never so finally, doubted of.

I have the sooner sent you this bearer Aske, because you may know of the speeches that are here of the French Ambassador's going into Scotland; because that, if you will, and think good, there are ways enough. The man that carrieth the dispatch being watched at Dover to see what he carrieth, afore he come to London: his name is Harvey, the French Ambassador's ordinary servant.

Sir

ELIZABETH.
1583.

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

I RECEIVED four days ago this letter here inclosed from Monsieur to your Majesty, with another from him to myself, to send it to you surely and speedily; which having kept four or five days in my hand, hoping of an ordinary post, and finding the wind hath permitted none these three weeks and more, I durst no longer keep it, but to send this bearer with it to your Majesty, most humbly craving your pleasure to know, hereafter receiving any in such sort from him, whether I shall send it away presently, to avoid opinion of negligence, or keep till a better opportunity, to avoid expence: and as I shall know your Majesty's pleasure, so will I direct myself in that, or any thing else.

1583.
Dec. 26th.

For your Majesty's pleasure I received by Mr. Secretary, about my Lady, as in all things else, so must and will I fulfil your Majesty's will. I pray God, either for 500 marks of mine own, or as much of your purse, I have as good intelligence, as I think that way would have gotten. For this your Majesty may assure yourself of, that there are four women in the Court, Madame Villeroi, Retz, Princesses of Condé and Nevers, that have all the news, and most secretest devices of the Court; for there is never a one of these, or at the least amongst these four, one of them, that hath not either a lover, an honourer, or a private friend, of the secretest Council in the Court, that will almost hide nothing from them. With these, she having conference, as they all desire her company, among women, (except Princesses of your quality) few things but are ripped up; and the more bending they feel in religion, the more frankness both in men and

Sir

ELIZABETH.
1583.

and women commonly there is; and the more they feel them bend, the more they use frankness, hoping to make them full coming. I am sure of one thing, she could have done no harm; and it had been a great hazard, if by that means I had not done a great deal of good for your service. But as I have my mind, while I am here, to seek no ways but to serve you, so seeing you like not of my way, I will seek no way but that which may best like you: and therefore I will seek some way, the cleanliest that I can, to take away the opinion I have already gone about to print, and find some other the best course I can, to do your Majesty the best service I may *.

For Monsieur, since the Queen Mother went thither, I hear nothing from thence; they here look daily for somewhat.

Upon Friday last, but then the Queen Mother was not arrived at Chasteauthierry, came Monsieur's Provost from him, with letters to the King, to desire him to give him strong hand to attach the Abbot of Albene, as one, that the man apprehended, confessed to be a partner in this conspiracy, and to desire the King presently to send him to him.

The King thinketh strange to have such message from his brother within his realm; yet, seeming very willing to have any body to answer such fact, sent for the Abbot, and told him that he must give him his faith and a surety sufficient, that he should keep Paris for his prison, till he had answered to such things as his brother had laid to his charge; which he called Monsieur's Provost to assist unto, to see what order he had taken with the Abbot; and therewithal sent his brother word, that he found this manner of his dealing with him strange, to send to him that was his King, though his brother, to

* The Queen's declining to avail herself of the Lady Sheffield's turn for intrigue, proceeded either from a scrupulous and laudable delicacy, to make use of such deceitful and hypocritical practices, or from her suspicions

of the Lady's sincerity and fidelity. She was niece to the beheaded Duke of Norfolk. Mr. Walpole has a portrait of her first husband, Lord Sheffield, at Strawberry hill.

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1583.

send to him any that was remaining where he was, to be examined by him that had no justice, and that he thought it had been rather fit for him to have sent the soldier that he had, to him, to have examined him, and confronted him with the Abbot, or any other, he having only, by being King, the administration of justice in his hands, and not Monsieur. Yet he was contented to do that he did, to show better nature, and more care over Monsieur, than he looked Monsieur would do for him in that case; though in the end, he thought it would fall out but practices of them about him, to stretch to farther matter, than any thing else of truth; which a great many here are in some opinion of: what will fall out of it, I cannot judge yet.

The Abbot was with me here yesterday, and desired me to request of your Majesty, with his humble duty, that you would, whatsoever you heard of him, think of him as of an honest man, and to remember, that though he be now away from Monsieur, your Majesty yourself once told him, that there was no place for an honest man to rest there, as long as Ferragues had any great credit about him.

For the rest of that which is occurrent here, I leave it to Mr. Secretary's letter, to whom I have written at large, for fear of troubling your Majesty with too tedious a letter. Yet can I not end without as plain dealing with you, to declare any good dealing of Monsieur towards you, which I would be the gladder of the two I might daily write, as I am by duty bound when I find the contrary. I am very credibly informed, that when he heard of this villainous act of Somerfield's confession, he grew in a great choler, and swore deeply, which he commonly doth not, that Jesuits only were the setters on of these enterprizes; and that, if he were a King, he would rather hang them with his own hand, than suffer any of them to live; with many bitter words against them, and many honourable and loving speeches of your Majesty.

F f

No.

ELIZABETH.
1586.

No. XIV.

From the Queen of Scots to Charles Paget.

From Dr.
Forbes's
Collection,
now in the
possession of
the Earl of
Hardwicke.

[This Letter is printed as particularly pointed out by Mr. Hume in the last quarto edition of his History.]

1586.
May 20th.

WITH an infinite number of other letters in cypher, I received five of your own, dated the 14th of January, 7th of May, 24th and last of July 1585, and 4th of February 1586; but, for their late arrival here and all at once, it hath not been possible to make me yet see them all decyphered; so, wholly without any intelligence of foreign affairs, it is very difficult for me to establish any certain course for re-establishing of mine own on this side. And methink, I can see no other means to that end, except the King of Spain, now being pricked, in his particular, by the attempt made on the Low Countries, and the course of Drake, would take revenge of this Queen; whilst France, occupied as it is, cannot help her. Wherefore, I desire that you should essaye, either X— during his aboad in Spain, or by Bernandino Mendoza, to discover clearly if the said King hath intention to set on this country; as to me it seemeth to be the surest and readiest way for him, whereby to rid himself altogether of the Queen's malice against him; so as now he doth find himself constrained to come to the same remedies which, in Don John D'Austria's time, were propounded unto him; which I doubt he shall not find presently in these parts of such strength and virtue, as if he had applied them in time and place; as to wit, whilst that I had so well disposed Scotland to receive them, that the Catholic

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1586.

party in this realm had the principale, which since it hath lost. My relations in France were to have employed, therein, and the said King not impeached in any other enterprize. I remember well that Don John was always stiff of this opinion, that there was no other means in the world whereby to set up again the King his brother's affairs in the Low Countries, and to assure his States in all other parts, then in re-establishing this realm under God, and a Prince his friend; for so much as he foresaw right well, that this Queen would not fail to break with him, and to give him, as she hath done, the first blow. Now in case (as sayd is) that he deliberate to set on this Queen, esteeming it most necessary, that he assure himself also of Scotland, either to serve him in the said enterprize, or, at the least, hold that country so bridled, as it serve not his enemy, I have thought good that you enter with E. in these overtures following: to wit, that I shall travel by all means to make my son enter in the said enterprize: and if he cannot be persuaded thereunto, that I shall dresse a secret band and league amongst the principal Catholic Lords of that country, and their adherents, to be joined with the King of Spain, and execute at his devotion what, of their part, shall be thought meet for advancing of the said enterprize; so being they may have such succours of men and money as they will ask, which I am sure shall not be very chargeable, having men enough within the country, and little money stretching far and doing much there. Moreover, I shall dresse the means, for the more security, to make my son be delivered into the hands of the said King, or in the Pope's, as by them shall be thought best; but with paction and promise to let and set him at full liberty whensoever I shall so desire, or that, after my death itself, being Catholic, he shall desire to repair again to this isle; without that ever the said King shall pretend nor attempt any thing to my prejudice or my son's, if he yield himself Catholic in the succession of this crown. This is the best hostage that I and the said Lords of Scotland can give to the said King, for performance of that

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1586.

which may depend of them in the said enterprize. But withal, must there be a Regent established in Scotland, that have commission and power of me and my son (whom it shall be easy to make pass the same, he being once in the hands of the said Lords), to govern the country in his absence; for which office I find none so fit as the Lord Claude *, as well for the rank of his house, as for his manhood and wisdom. And, to shun all jealousy of the rest, and strengthen him the more, he must have a council appointed him of the principal Lords, without whom he shall be bound not to ordain any thing of importance. I should think myself most obliged to that King, that it would please him to receive my son, to make him be instructed and reduced to the Catholic religion; which is the thing of this world I most desire; affecting a great deal rather the salvation of his soul, than to see him Monarch of all Europe. And I fear much, that so long as he shall remain where he is (amongst those who found all his greatness upon the maintenance of the religion which he professeth), it shall never lye in my power to bring him in again to the right way; whereby there shall remain in my heart a thousand regrets and apprehensions if I shall die, to leave behind me a tyrant and persecutor of the Catholic Church. If you see or perceive the said Ambassador to take hold of the said overtures, and doth put you in hope of a good answer thereunto, which you shall insist to have with all diligence, I would, in the mean while, that you should write to the Lord Claude, letting him understand, how that the said King is set on this country, and desireth to have the assistance of the Catholics of Scotland, to stop, at the least, that from thence this Queen have no succours. And, to that effect, you shall pray the said Lord, to sound and grope the minds hereunto of the principal of the Catholic Nobility in Scotland, and others who, under other pretext, he might bring into their party; to the end you may make open light

* Hamilton.

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whereby the said King may see, what he might look for in such case at their hands, and also know what succours and supports both of men and money they would require of the said King to hold Scotland at their devotion withal: moreover, that he declare unto you, particularly, the names of those that are to enter into this band, and what forces they are able to make together. And to the end they may be the more encouraged herein, you may write plainly to the said Lord Claude, that you have charge of me to treat in this matter with him. But, for your first letter, I am not of opinion that you discover yourself farther unto him, nor unto any other at all, until you have received answer of the said King; which being conform to this design, then may you open more unto the said Lord Claude; shewing him, that to assure himself of my son, and to the end, (if it be possible) that things be past and done under his name and authority, it shall be needful to seize his person, in case that willingly he cannot be brought to this enterprize; yea, and that the surest were to deliver him into the King of Spain's hands, or the Pope's, as shall be thought best; and that, in his absence, he depute the said Lord Claude, his Lieutenant-general and Regent of the government of Scotland, which you are assured I may be easily persuaded to confirm and approve: for, if it be possible, I will not, for divers respects, be therein named, until the extremity. To persuade hereunto the Lord Claude, it shall be good, that you assure him, by all means you can, of my good will towards him and his house; that you promise to travel to abolish all remembrance or grief of his brother the Lord of Arbrothe's proceedings; and besides, that you indirectly put him in hope, I shall make him be declared lawful heir to the Crown of Scotland, my son failing without children; and that thereunto I shall make the Catholic Princes of Christendom to condescend to maintain him in that right. This is all, which, for that country of Scotland, I can dress presently, upon so much as I know of the present estate

of

whereby

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of the affairs of Christendom; charging you, very expressly, not to communicate this to any other at all, either English, French, or Scottish; as also you shall pray the said Bernardino to do the like, and the said Lord Claude not to discover by whom this motion is made unto him. I have heard, that last year there were 1200*l.* appointed for my son; advise the P. S. to make them be arrested, and preserved for the negotiation of this enterprize; for that which was before delivered, was right evil dispersed and employed. Chartley this 20th of May, 1586.

I can write nothing presently unto the Lord Claude himself, for want of an alphabet between me and him; which now I send you here inclosed, without any mark on the back, that you may send it him. And if, by any nearer means, which I will essay to find on this side, I may write therein, I shall not fail to remember, by the same, or the first other I can find fittest, the good testimony and assurance you give me of this dutiful affection towards me and my service.

Your letters dated the 10th of April, with the whole mentioned therein, I received of late; but have no leisure to answer thereunto, by reason of the messenger's haste to be dispatched herewith, at this day prescribed for the purpose. The want shall be supplied as soon as I can. And whereas, here above, I promise to send you an alphabet for the Lord Claude; I am even now put in hope of a mean of convey, direct from hence, to Scotland, whereby I do intend to send the said alphabet, and so retain the same for that way, as the surest and speediest. In the mean while, I would not omit to assure you, that it is my intention your pension be continued in ready payment; as I took good order therefore, and for his part, at de Cherolles being here, whereof he can well inform you, if he list.

Gilbert

STATE PAPERS.

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* *Gilbert Curll's superscription as followeth:*

THIS letter I had first written by the Queen my Mistres's own hand, and gave it her again; which was first written in French, and after translated by me,

GILBERT CURLL.

2d September,
1586.

Indorsed two different ways thus:

Copy of Charles Paget, his letter,

AND

Curll's transcript of the Queen's letter.

* These words are in the Lord Treasurer Burghley's hand-writing.

No.

Gilbert

ELIZABETH.
1586.

No. XV.

Evidence against the Queen of Scots.

[This report of the evidence against the Queen of Scots at Fotheringay, and the confessions of her Secretaries afterwards in the Star Chamber, is much fuller than *that* given by Camden in his history, or the account printed in the State Trials; and the crime of *compassing and imagining* Queen Elizabeth's death seems fully proved against her.]

Die Martis, xxv. Octobris 1586.

From a Copy
of the trial in
the possession
of the Earl of
Hardwicke.

THE Commissioners being all (except the Earls of Shrewsbury and Warwick, and Sir Amias Paulet), assembled within the Star Chamber, a recapitulation was made by her Majesty's Privy Council, of all such proofs as had been made against the Scots Queen, before them at Fotheringay, &c. After which Nau and Curle were brought personally before the Commissioners, and, in their presences, did avow and maintain all their confessions, examinations, and subscriptions to be true, in such manner and form, as they have written and made the same. And they did, then and there, expressly affirm and maintain, that the Scots Queen had received and read Babington's letters, and that, by her direction and express commandment, the answer unto all the points thereof, was returned unto Babington in her name, according as in the letter is set down.

Also, that, the same 12th of July, she did write to the Lord Paget, to Charles Paget, to Mendoza, to Sir Francis Inglefield, and to the Archbishop of Glasgow, concerning Babington's plot, &c. Whereupon the Lords and other the Commissioners, conferred together in
secret,

secret, and afterwards, as it is said, concluded upon their judgment. And they called in the Queen's Serjeants, the Attorney and Solicitor, and before them, as it is said, gave their sentences, by which all the Commissioners present, except the Lord Zouch, pronounced, that the Scots Queen was privy, &c. and that she had compassed and imagined the death of her Majesty our Sovereign Lady, only the Lord Zouch, as it is said, gave his sentence, that she was privy to the compassing, practising, and imagining of her Majesty's death, but he could not pronounce that she had compassed, practised, or imagined the same, &c. And then Mr. Sanders was called for in, to take notice of this sentence.

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1586.

Note, That the Earl of Shrewsbury sent his judgment in writing, containing his consent unto the same; and so afterwards did the Earl of Warwick.

The Commission reciteth the Statute made in the 27th year of the Queen's Majesty's reign, and authoriseth the Commissioners to examine, whether Mary the Scots Queen, since the 1st of June, the same 27th year, hath compassed or imagined any thing tending to hurt the Queen's Majesty's person; or whether she hath been privy, that any other person hath compassed or imagined any thing tending to the hurt of her Highness's person, and thereupon to give sentence or judgment, as upon good proof the matter shall appear.

She was directly charged by the Queen's Serjeants, that she had compassed and imagined the death and destruction of her Majesty, and also was privy and consenting to the conspiracies and treasons of Anthony Babington, and John Ballard, and their confederates, and so was within the compass of both the said articles of the statute and commission.

For declaration whereof, first, it was opened, that Ballard being a seminary priest, and one that, by the space of five or six years, had ranged through many parts of the realm, disguised in apparel, and under sundry several names, seducing the Queen's subjects, and with-

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1586.

drawing them from their due obedience, did go into France, in Lent last past; and about a week after Easter, had conference in Paris with Charles Paget, Thomas Morgan, and Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador there, touching the invading of this realm, by foreign forces, rebellion to be stirred amongst her Majesty's subjects, and a strong party to be made to assist and join with the invaders, and the Scots Queen to be delivered. In which enterprize, Charles Paget affirmed, that there was no hope to prevail during her Majesty's life.

Hereupon, Ballard was sent into England, by direction from Charles Paget, and Mendoza, to solicit and practise the execution of this their complot.

He returned to London upon Whitsunday, being the 22d of May, and within four or five days after, he conferred with Babington, and acquainted him with all the whole plot of these treasons.

In this conference, Babington and Ballard resolved, that all foreign power and invasion were in vain, unless the Queen's Majesty were taken away. Whereupon they concluded, that six gentlemen should undertake the killing of her Majesty, and that Savage, who before that time was solicited at Rheims to execute that wicked action alone, and thereupon had vowed to perform that accordingly, and was come into England for that purpose, should forbear to attempt it alone, and should be one of the six; and at the time of the execution thereof, Babington, and certain others with him, should deliver the Scots Queen.

These things, with many other material circumstances and parts of their treasons, were directly and voluntarily confessed, by divers of the principal conspirators, both before and at their arrangement, as appears by the record; whereupon, to their deserts, and the justice of the law, they were attainted and accused.

After this declaration thus made, the proof against the Scots Queen was entered into, and prosecuted, as hereafter followeth.

First,

ELIZABETH.
1586.

First, was read a confession made by Babington, written all with his own hand, and delivered to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Vice Chamberlain, voluntarily and frankly, before he was committed to the Tower; wherein he setteth down at large, about four years past, being in Paris, that he did there grow acquainted with Thomas Morgan, who brought him to the Bishop of Glasgow, Ambassador Ledger in France for the Queen of Scots, and they both recommended their Mistress unto him, as a most wise and virtuous Catholic Princess, declaring the certain expectation of her future greatness in this land, by reason of the undoubted title to this Crown, as next in succession.

And after his return in England, they, by their letters, commended him to her service; whereupon, she wrote unto him a letter of congratulation.

After which he was solicited by other letters from Morgan, to be an intelligencer for her, and convey her letters and packets.

This course of service he continued for the space of two years; and about a quarter of a year before her remove from the Earl of Shrewsbury's keeping, left it off, and discontinued the same until July last. At which time he received from her a short letter in cypher, by a boy unknown unto him, signifying her discontent for breach of their intelligence, requiring the same to be renewed. And that she would send some packets unto him, which she had received from Thomas Morgan, in April last before.

He doth also set down at large, what conference passed between Ballard and him, and the whole plot of the conspiracies and treasons.

He declareth further, that he did write a letter to the Scots Queen, touching every particular of this their plot, and sent it by the same unknown boy.

Unto which she answered, twenty or thirty days after, in the same cypher; by which he wrote unto her, but by another messenger;

P. L. F. Z. A.
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1686.

the tenor of both which letters he carried so well in memory, that he reported and set down fully all the principal points of the same, as upon conference of his said declaration; with the copies of the same letters, it appeareth.

He affirmeth also, that he shewed the letter of Queen of Scots to Titchborne, who did assist him in the decyphering of the same; and that he shewed a copy thereof to Ballard and others.

After the reading of Babington's declaration aforesaid, a part of Ballard's examination was likewise read, concurring with the same; wherein he affirmeth, that Babington shewed him a copy of the letter which he did write to the Queen of Scots; and also a part of the letter which the Scots Queen did write for answer to him, the whole not being then decyphered; and setteth down, very certainly, divers material points of the same.

Titchborne and Dunne, in their several examinations, do also affirm that Babington did impart unto them the same letter from the Queen of Scots; and do likewise report sundry particularities of the same, and Titchborne affirmeth farther, that he, at Babington's request, did write a great part of the same, as Babington did decypher it, and read it unto him.

After this was read a copy of the letter written by Babington to the Scots Queen, wherein these material and effectual parts were, and are to be noted. First, he termed her his dread Sovereign Lady and Queen, and acknowledged all fidelity and obedience to her only.

He signifieth unto her, that upon advertisement by Ballard from beyond the seas, of the purpose of certain foreign powers to invade this realm, he hath now staid on purpose to do her sacred Majesty one day's good service.

That he communicated this his purpose to such of the friends as he best trusted; and saith, that upon conference with them, he hath found these things, first to be advised in this great and honourable action, upon the issue whereof depended her life, and the weal and honour of our country.

First,

First, for assuring of the invasion, sufficient strength in the invaders, ports to be appointed for the foreign Princes to arrive at, with a strong party at every place to join with them, to warrant their landing. Then, the deliverance of the Scots Queen, and the dispatching of the usurping competitor, the effecting whereof he doth vow and protest, or else their lives to be lost in the execution thereof.

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1586.

In all these particular points, he prayeth her direction, and for the avoiding of delay, that she by her princely authority would enable such as may advance the affair; seeing that it is necessary, that some there be that become heads, to lead the multitude, ever disposed by nature, in this land, to follow the nobility: he offereth also, to recommend some unto her, fit, in his knowledge, to be her Lieutenants in the West Parts, North Wales, and the countries of Lancaster, Derby, and Stafford.

He promiseth, that himself, with ten gentlemen, and one hundred of their followers, would deliver her from her keeper.

And for the dispatch of the Usurper (from the obedience of whom he saith, that by the excommunication of her, they were made free), six noble Gentlemen, all his private friends, would undertake that tragical execution.

He prayeth her, that by her wisdom it be reduced to method, and that her deliverance be first, for that thereupon depended their only good, and all other circumstances so to concur, that the untimely beginning of one, do not overthrow the rest.

He subscribeth

Your Majesty's faithful subject,

and sworn servant,

ANTHONY BABINGTON.

Then

First,

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1586.

Then was read a copy of the Scots Queen's letter to Babington, in answer of his, whereby she termeth him trusty and well-beloved; she commendeth his zeal and entire affection towards her; she accepteth and alloweth his offers; she declareth, that she hath long time dealt with foreign Princes touching these actions, always putting them in mind, how dangerous their delays were to the Catholics. She willeth him to assure their principal friends, that albeit she had not in this cause any particular interest, that which she may pretend, being of no consideration unto her, in respect of the public good of the State, she would be always ready and most willing to employ herein her life, and all that she hath, or may ever look for in this world.

To ground substantially this enterprize, she adviseth to examine deeply.

1st. What forces they could raise within the realm, and what Captains to be appointed in every shire, in case a chief General cannot be had.

2. Of what towns, ports, and havens, they could assure themselves, as well in the North, as West and South, to receive succours from the Low Countries, Spain and France.

3d. What places they esteemed most fit, and of greatest advantage, to assemble their forces at, and which way and whither to march.

4th. What foreign forces, as well on horse, as on foot, they required, and for how long pay.

5th. What provision of money and armour, in case they wanted, they would ask.

6th. By what means the six gentlemen did deliberate to proceed.

7th. And the manner how she was to be delivered out of hold.

She deviseth, that after they had amongst themselves taken their best resolution, that then they should impart the same to Mendoza, and she promiseth to write unto him of the matter, with all the earnest

earnest recommendation she could; and also to any else that should be needful.

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1586.

The affairs being thus prepared, and forces in readines both without and within the realm, she saith, that then shall it be time to set the six Gentlemen to work; taking order, upon the accomplishing of their design, that she should be suddenly transported from the place of her restraint, and all their forces to be at the same time in the field, and meet her, in tarrying for the arrival of the foreign aid, which must be hastened with all diligence.

And for that there can be no certain day appointed for the accomplishing of the said Gentlemen's designment, she willeth, that others may be in a readines to take her from thence; that the said Gentlemen have always about them (or at the least at the Court), four stout men, with speedy horses, to dispatch by divers ways, so soon as the said design should be executed, to bring intelligence to those which should undertake her deliverance, so that she might be taken from the keeper, before he could hear of the execution of the said design, or at the least, before he could remove her to any other place, or fortify the place wherein she remained; and at the same instant to essay to cut off the posts ordinary ways.

She giveth earnest warning not to stir on this side, before they be well assured of foreign forces, nor to take her away, before they were well assured, to set her in the midst of a good army, or some very good strength, where she might safely stay for the assembly of their forces, and arrival of foreign Princes.

She referreth to Babington to assure the Gentlemen above mentioned, of all that shall be requisite of her part, for the entire execution of their good will.

She promiseth to essay, at the same time that the work shall be in hand in these parts, to make the Catholics of Scotland to arise, and put her son into their hands, to effect that, from thence, her enemies here may not prevail of any succour.

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She willethe also, some stirring in Ireland were laboured, for to begin some while before any thing were done here, to the end that the alarm might be given thereby, on the flat contrary side that the stroke should come.

That for a General, it were good to sound obscurely the Earl of Arundell, or some of his brethren: and likewise to seek upon the young Earl of Northumberland, if he be at liberty; and the Earl of Westmorland, and the Lord Paget, should be brought home secretly; and with them some more of the principal banished men should return.

She directeth three means for her delivery; viz. fifty or threescore to deliver her from her keeper, when she was riding to take air on the moors between Chartley and Stafford.

Or to set fire in the barns and stables at Chartley, in the night-time, and when her guardian servants should go forth to quench the fire, then the others to enter and take her away.

Or to cause some of the carts, which came with provision very early, to be overturned in the great gates, by practice with the cart-drivers, so that the gates could not be shut, and then those which were appointed for her delivery, to enter the house upon the sudden, and to take her away.

Finally, she requireth, for God's sake, that albeit they cannot compass her delivery, yet notwithstanding they should not let to proceed in the rest of the enterprize.

She concludeth, what issue soever the matter taketh, she will think herself obliged to Babington so long as she liveth, for his offer to hazard himself (as he doth) for her delivery.

Both these copies of the two several before-mentioned letters, were advisedly perused by Babington, and thereupon he did voluntarily confess the same to be the true copies of his letter to the Scots Queen, and of her answer to the same, and for affirmation thereof, he subscribed his name to every page of both the said copies with his own hand.

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In doing whereof, he was so circumspect and careful, that finding two or three words mistaken in the writing of the copy of the letters, he struck out the same, before he did subscribe it.

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Hereupon, it was urged and inferred by her Majesty's learned Council, that if Babington's letter came to the Scots Queen's hands, then it was apparent that she was privy to the conspiracy for the taking away of her Majesty's life. And likewise, if she did write unto Babington to such effect, as in his declaration written with his own hand, and in the same copy recognized and subscribed by him, is contained, then it cannot be avoided, but that she did not only compass and imagine, but did also practise, the destruction of her Highness, and so was directly within both the parts of the commission and statute.

Hereunto, the Scots Queen, after her protestation, answered, that she never saw nor knew Babington; and denied that she received any such letter from him, or that she wrote any such letter to him, or that she was privy to his conspiracies, or that she did ever practise, compass, imagine, or was privy of any thing to the destruction of her Majesty, or to the hurt of her person; confessing nevertheless, that she had used Babington as an intelligencer for her, and for the conveying of letters and packets.

And she added further, that she was not to be charged, but either by her word, or by her writing, and she was sure they had neither the one nor the other to lay against her.

After which answer, so by her made, divers other matters were alleged, and shewed forth, to prove that she did receive the same letters from Babington, and did also write answer unto him, as the before-mentioned copies did purport; with farther proof, as hereafter followeth:

First, it was inferred, that since both the letters were written in the cypher used between the Scots Queen and Babington, and all the points of Babington's letter directly and effectually answered by

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the other, it cannot be, but that she received his letter, and so made the answer unto the same; and the alphabet of the same cypher being found amongst papers, and shewed to Babington, he acknowledged and thereupon subscribed his name to the same, as it appeared.

Also, the imparting of the same letter by Babington to Titchborne, who did help to decypher part of it, and to Ballard, Dunne, and others, when he was at liberty, and feared not the discovery of his treasons, but hoped then, within short time, to bring the same to his desired effect, is a stronger proof of the same letters.

Besides the voluntary declarations and confessions of the same letters by Babington, Ballard, Titchborne, and Dunne, after their apprehension, and their constant persisting in the same, before and after the time of their arraignment, and till their death, without retracting any part thereof, enforceth greatly the credit of the same.

And there is no likelihood or probability that Babington, or any one, would of himself devise and impute to others, a matter of so great importance and extreme danger.

Then it was added further, that besides the matters before mentioned, it was manifest, as well by the declarations and confessions of Nau and Curle, her servants and secretaries, subscribed with their own hands, without torture or constraint, and by their voluntary oaths verifying the same, that the Scots Queen did receive the same letter from Babington, and caused the same to be decyphered, and after advice, reading, and consideration thereof, caused the said answer to be written to Babington in her name.

And for proof thereof, it was alleged, that the copies of the same letters being shewed by some of the Lords of the Council, to Nau and Curle, they, upon reading and perusing thereof, subscribed their names thereunto, affirming the same, and acknowledging that the Scots Queen received the same from Babington, and thereupon she did give direction for the writing of the other unto him; which was verified, by shewing forth the same copies so subscribed by them.

And

And Nau setteth down in writing with his own hand, the 6th of September, that the Scots Queen did commonly hold this course, in receiving and writing of letters of secrecy and importance, viz. that all letters written to her, were opened in her Cabinet, in her own presence, and decyphered by her own commandment; and such letters as she did write to others, she did first either write the same in French with her own hand, or give direction to Nau to write the same; after which, the same being perused by her, or read unto her, if they were to be written in English, then did Curle translate them out of French into English, and did estsoons read them unto her, the same being so translated; which being done, Curle did put the same in cypher, and so they were sent away. He affirmeth farther, in his said declaration, that the Scots Queen gave direction for the writing of the said letter to Babington, and that in the writing thereof, the course aforesaid was holden.

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There was also shewed forth a paper written by Nau, containing short minutes and notes of the principal points of Babington's letter, and of the Scots Queen's letter to Babington, which was found amongst her papers at Chartley, which being shewed unto Nau by some of the Lords of the Council, he upon sight thereof confessed it to be his own hand, saying, that upon reading Babington's letter to the Scots Queen, and her direction given for the answering of the same, he did set down the same notes, to serve as a memorial for him, for the writing of other letters; and this his confession, in that behalf, did he subscribe in the same paper, with his own hand, in presence of the said Lords, and put his name thereunto; and after, in another examination, affirmeth the same.

In this paper, amongst other points, is contained *Le Coup*, which can hardly be construed to be meant otherwise, than the blow or stroke for killing of her Majesty, being written upon some occasion, and to such end, as Nau hath declared, as is aforesaid.

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Also, Curle perusing an abstract of the principal points of both the said letters, did confess and affirm the same, and thereupon, before the said Lords, did with his own hand subscribe his said affirmation, and put his name thereunto.

The same points were put into French by Nau, and written all with his own hand, and by him likewise confessed to be the matters contained in the same letters, and thereupon also he did subscribe his name to the same.

Besides, Nau being examined before the Lords afore said, the 21st of September, touching the said letters, said that Curle did decypher Babington's letter to the Scots Queen, and after he (the said Nau) did read it unto her, and she resolved to make answer unto the same.

And saith further, that he took the points contained in the Scots Queen's letter to Babington, of her own mouth, from point to point, in the same manner as he put in writing; whereupon he did draw the letter in French, and after brought it unto her, and she corrected it in such sort as it was sent to Babington. And saith, that the Scots Queen delivered unto him by her own speech, these points following, for answer of Babington's letter, upon consideration of the same letter from Babington, wherein the same points were contained, viz.

What forces were to be had here, what havens and ports, what places fittest for the forces to assemble; what foreign forces they required; what provision, money, and armour; by what means the six Gentlemen meant to proceed; and the manner how she was to be delivered out of hold.

He saith also, that the clause of the association upon pretence to withstand the Puritans, was devised by the Scots Queen herself, and was by her direction put into the said letter; and so likewise, the other clause that the six Gentlemen should have some stout men well horsed, to give speedy intelligence when the designment should be executed.

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This examination of Nau was first set down in English, according as he delivered it by speech, and being read unto him, he did subscribe his name unto the same, and after, upon perusal and further consideration thereof, he did set down in French with his own hand the substance thereof.

Curle being likewise examined before the said Lords, the said 21st September, saith, that he decyphered Babington's letter to the Scots Queen, and then the same was read unto her by Nau, whereupon she directed Nau to draw an answer unto the same, which he drew in French, and read it unto her; which being done, Curle put it into English by her commandment, and after, read it unto Nau, and then, by her commandment, Curle put it into cypher.

He saith, that the same her letter to Babington had these parts, viz. What forces may be raised here; what havens and ports provided; what place fittest for the forces to assemble; what foreign forces they required; what provision, money, and armour, they would ask; by what means the six Gentlemen meant to proceed, and how they meant to deliver her out of hold. And that the same letter contained a clause also, that the six Gentlemen should have four stout men, well horsed, to give advertisement so soon as the designment should be executed; and contained three means for her delivery out of hold; and had also a device for an association to be pretended against the Puritans. He saith also, she willed him to burn the English copy of the letters sent to Babington.

These examinations of Nau and Curle were subscribed with their own hands, and affirmed upon their oaths, voluntarily taken before the Lords and Judges, and so some of the said Lords and Judges did openly affirm.

All these confessions and declarations, examinations and subscriptions, of Nau and Curle, were verified by the oath of Mr. Thomas Powell, Clerk of the Crown, who was present when they did write and depose the same, and being shewed to the Scots Queen, she confessed the

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the same to be the hands of Nau and Curle; albeit, as she said, Nau had not written his name as he did usually accustom to sign; but she denied earnestly, that she did ever receive the same letter from Babington, or write the other unto him, whatsoever Nau and Curle had said or depofed, faving she did take them to be honest men; but she did not know what apprehension, torture, fear, or hope of favour, might make in them.

After these proofs thus produced and shewed, it was alleged further, that the Scots Queen had not only intelligence by Babington of Ballard's negotiation in France, from the agents in France, and with what direction, and for what purpose he was sent from thence into England, but had also the like intelligence out of France, from her agents there.

And thereupon was shewed forth a copy of a letter written to the Scots Queen by Charles Paget the 26th of May 1586, *filo novo*, which was decyphered by Curle, and being shewed to him by some of the Lords, the 25th of September, he confessed the same, as well by speech, as by his own voluntary subscription, and putting his name thereunto. Whereby Charles Paget did signify what conference Ballard had with him and Mendoza; and what plot they had levied for the invasion of the realm, and stirring of rebellion; and what directions Mendoza had given unto Ballard.

It was also alleged, that after the Scots Queen had received the said letter from Babington, and had written answer, point for point, to the same, and given direction, touching the whole plot, promising withal to write to Mendoza, and to any else that should be needful, she did, accordingly, the 27th of July, make dispatch of five several letters, all touching the same action, viz. three into France, one to Mendoza, another to Charles Paget, and the third to the Bishop of Glasgow; and two into Spain, one to the Lord Paget, and another to Sir Francis Inglesfield.

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She wrote to Mendoza, that she was so discouraged from entering into any new pursuits, seeing the small effect of those in times past, that she shut up her eyes to divers overtures and propositions that were made unto her by the Catholics within six months past, having no means to give them sound answer.

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But upon that, which of late again she understood of the good intention of the King of Spain towards these quarrels, she had written very amply to the principal of the said Catholics, upon a design which she sent, with her advice upon every point, to resolve amongst themselves, for the execution thereof; and for fear of loss of time, she gave them order to dispatch unto Mendoza, with all diligence, one from among them, sufficiently instructed to treat with him, according to the general propositions which have been already made unto him, of all things which they were to demand of him in that affair with the King his Master.

Further, she answereth him on their behalf, upon their faith and word given unto her, that they would faithfully and sincerely accomplish, with the hazard of their lives, that which they should promise by their Deputy, and therefore prayeth Mendoza to give all credit therein, as if herself had dispatched him.

She saith further, that she would inform Mendoza with the means of her escape, which she would take upon her to perform, so as afore hand she may be assured of sufficient forces to receive and preserve her within the land, whilst all the armies may assemble.

The original draught of this letter written in French by Nau, and by him subscribed and confessed, was shewed to the Scots Queen, which she confessed to be his hand, but said, it was nothing to this matter.

There is also a copy of the same in English, of Nau's hand, and subscribed and signed by him.

She did write unto Charles Paget, that, upon return of Ballard, the principal of the Catholics did impart unto her, their intention and

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conference to that which Charles Paget wrote, but more particularly asking her direction for the execution of the whole, and that she made them a very ample dispatch, containing the device, point by point, in all things requisite, as well on this side, as without the realm, to bring their designment to good effect.

That she directed them, that for losing no time, having taken resolution amongst them, upon her dispatch, they would make haste to impart the same to Mendoza, sending over therewith, either the said Ballard, or some other the most faithful and secret they could find. That she promised to write to Mendoza, as she did presently, to give credit to the said messenger. So that if the Pope and King of Spain had even intention to provide for the isle, the occasion is presently offered, very advantageous, finding all the Catholics therein universally so disposed and forward, as there is more ado to keep them back, than put them forward.

That for all difficulties which Mendoza could allege, as for getting her forth of hold, or otherwise, he should be thereof sufficiently cleared and satisfied.

That it resteth only to pursue, so hotly as can be, both in Rome and Spain, the grant of support requisite, of horsemen, footmen, arms, munition, and money.

That her opinion is, and that so she hath written to the Catholics, that nothing be stirred on this side, before they have sufficient promise and assurance of the Pope and King of Spain, for the accomplishment of that which is required of them.

That she would have sent to Paget, a copy of her dispatch to the Catholics, were it not that she is sure, that, by the messenger, he should know more thereof than she can write, he being to carry into those parts the resolution of the whole, and for the same respect she referred the Lord Paget to be thereof informed by Charles Paget.

She thanketh him for the sixty crowns he gave to Ballard, promising to make him reimbursed of the same, by the Ambassador.

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She requireth to know how he hath proceeded with the Lord Claude, in the matter whereof she wrote unto him not long since, which being well effected, should well concur with the enterprize here.

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Two original draughts of this letter were shewed forth, one in French, written by Nau, the other in English, written by Curle, which they confessed by their subscriptions, and affirmed by their oaths, before some of the Lords, as Mr. Thomas Powell did then depose.

She did write to the Lord Paget, that she doubted not, but he had understood by his brother, the overture which a deputy for the Catholics in this realm, had made on their behalf to Mendoza: whereupon, not long since she wrote very amply to the principal of the Catholics, for to have, upon a plot which she had dressed for them, their common resolution; and for to treat accordingly with the King of Spain, she addressed them to the Lord Paget.

She requireth him to consider deeply the said plot, and all the particularities necessary for the execution of it; namely, for the supporting of men, armour, munition and money; which must be obtained of the Pope, and of the King of Spain. She requireth to solicit the matter there, and to enter betime, because all negociations in that Court are drawn to great length.

This was also first drawn in French by Nau, and after put into English by Curle, and both the original draughts of their own hands were shewed forth, which they had confessed and subscribed before the Lords, and affirmed the same by their oaths, as Mr. Thomas Powell did also depose.

She did write to Sir Francis Inglefield, to give thanks to the King of Spain, for the 12,000 crowns; assuring him, that the same should be employed to none other use, but to the accomplishment of her escape.

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That she feareth the bruit which runneth, of a peace between the King of Spain and this Queen, shall retire many to pursue the designment of an enterprize of new dressed here.

That the principal Catholics of England having, about Easter last, made their complot together, to rise in Leicester's absence (myself not having wherewith to give them a substantial answer), sent one from amongst them to Charles Paget, who made their messenger to declare their designment to Mendoza, to know if his Master the King of Spain would hearken thereunto.

Whereupon all good hope being brought back again unto them, as they signified unto her, and finding the same in manner confirmed by Inglefield's letter; she made then a very ample dispatch, by which, upon a plot which she had dressed for them, she gave them her advice, point by point, in every thing necessary for the execution thereof, and remitting them to take resolution thereupon.

That for to lose no time, without sending again unto her, they should dispatch, with all diligence, some one in their names, chosen, faithful, and sufficiently instructed, to Mendoza.

To impart unto him particularly the plot of their enterprize, and to require such support as is necessary of men on foot and horse, as also of armour, munition, and money; of which things, before they had sufficient promise and assurance, not to stir on this side.

That she had cleared the greatest difficulty, which has always been objected in the like enterprize, viz. her escape out of hold, and she hopeth to execute the same assuredly, as they shall design it.

That, if a peace be made in France, her cousin of Guise, having already great forces, may employ the same here, on a sudden, before the Queen be aware.

Of this letter there was also shewed for the two original draughts, one written in French by Nau, the other in English by Curle; which they had likewise confessed and subscribed before the Lords, and confirmed by their oaths, as Mr. Powell deposed.

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She did write another letter to the Bishop of Glascow, which, for that, in these points, it did in substance concur with the former, containing also sundry other matters, not pertinent to this accord, was not read, but the first draught in French written by Nau, and by him confessed and subscribed before the Lords, was only shewed forth, for the verifying of the same.

After that, the original draughts of these letters to Mendoza, and Charles Paget, were shewed to the Scots Queen, and were confessed by her, to be the hand-writing of Nau and Curle; she refused to see the draught of sundry other letters hereafter mentioned, which were likewise offered to be shewed unto her, saying, she cared not whether the same were written by them or not, and acknowledging withal, that about that time she made several dispatches, to such effects as these letters did purport, which was, concerning aid to be procured for her delivery, saying, that the same was nothing touching the matter wherewith she was charged.

Hereupon it was urged, that this letter concurring directly, in matter and circumstances, with Babington's letter to her, and her answer to the same, did prove evidently that she received the one, and did write the other, and so was privy, and a compasser and practiser of the design of the death of her Majesty, and on this behalf these particularities were specially voted.

She writeth to Mendoza, Charles Paget, and the rest, that the Catholics did signify unto her their intentions, and that she made them an ample dispatch, giving her advice upon every point, point by point, upon conference together of Babington's letter to her, with her answer to the same; this appeareth to be true, for by his, she hath intelligence of their plot and intention, and by the other she giveth her direction and advice, point by point.

In her letter to Charles Paget, she writeth, that upon the return of Ballard, the principal of the Catholics had imparted unto her their intentions, conformable to that which Charles Paget wrote unto her;

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but more particularly upon conference of Babington's letter with that of Charles Paget of the 29th of May, it appeareth, that Babington setteth down sundry particularities of the plot, more than are contained in Paget's letter.

In her letter to Babington, she promiseth to write to Mendoza, and others, and in those which she did write to Mendoza, Charles Paget, &c. she writeth, that she had given such direction; and accordingly Ballard was prepared and ready to have taken that journey, if he had not been prevented by his apprehension, as is confessed by Ballard, Babington, and Savage.

She writeth to Charles Paget, &c. that the difficulty which hath been objected, touching her delivery out of hold, is cleared, and that she hopeth to have it executed assuredly, according to her designment.

And accordingly, in Babington's letter to her, and her answer to the same, the manner and means of her escape is set down at large.

In her letter to Charles Paget, she saith, she hath written to the Catholics, that no stirring shall be on this side, before they have sufficient promise and assurance for the accomplishment of that which is required of the Pope and King of Spain: and in this her letter of answer to Babington, it appeareth, that she did write to that effect.

In her letter to Sir Francis Inglefield, she writeth, that for Scotland, she is about to practise that her enemies may have no succour thence.

And accordingly, in her letter to Babington, she writeth, that she would essay, at the time that the work should be in hand in these parts, to make the Catholics of Scotland to arise, and put her son in their hands, to the effect that from thence her enemies may not prevail of any succours; and withal willeth, that some stirring in Ireland were laboured for, to begin some while before, to the end the alarm may be given on the flat contrary side that the stroke should come.

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Both which her devices have not failed of their success, for there have been stirs and troubles both in Scotland and Ireland, the latter end of this Summer.

And where the Scots Queen confessed, that she had written to procure invasion and rebellion, and seemed to justify the same as lawful, for to obtain thereby her delivery, it was said, that being within the realm, and protected by the laws, and so subject to the same, she might not use those means to compass her delivery, whereby the Queen's life was apparently sought; for invasion and destruction of her Majesty are so linked together, that they cannot be single; for if the invader should prevail, no doubt they would not suffer her Majesty to continue neither government nor her life; and in case of rebellion, the same reason holdeth.

It was further alleged, that, besides these several letters before mentioned, she did, about the time that these things were in hand, write divers letters to sundry other persons beyond the seas, wherein she taketh herself to be the Sovereign of this realm, containing sundry matters very dangerous as well to our Sovereign the Queen's Majesty, as to the whole state of this realm. By which her intentions, in the matters wherewith she is now charged, may the better appear.

The 20th of May 1586, she did write to Charles Paget to practise with the Spanish Ambassador in France, to stir the King of Spain to invade the realm, and to take revenge on the Queen's Majesty.

That the surest and readiest way to rid himself altogether from this Queen's malice, is, by purging the spring of the malign humours.

That by this long patience, he hath not prevailed any thing, and that there is no other means to set up again the King of Spain's affairs in the Low Countries, and to assure his estate in all other parts, than in re-establishing this realm under a Prince his friend.

That if he deliberate, to set in this Queen, he assureth himself of Scotland, either to serve him, or to be so bridled, as not to serve his enemy.

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That she will travel by all means, to make her son to enter into the enterprize, or, if he cannot be persuaded thereunto, then she will dress a secret league and bond amongst the Catholic Lords of that country, to join with the King of Spain.

That she will make her son to be delivered into the hands of the Pope, or King of Spain, with passion to set him at liberty whensoever she shall devise, or after their death, himself, being Catholic, shall desire, without that ever the King of Spain should pretend or attempt any thing to the prejudice of her son (if he yield him Catholic), in the succession of that Crown.

That a Regent should be established in Scotland, to govern in the absence of her son, and for that purpose named the Lord Claude Hambleton, alias Hamilton.

That she should write to the Lord Claude to procure him to draw the Catholic Lords of Scotland, to be at the King of Spain's devotion. That, after answer received from the King of Spain, conformable to this design, then Charles Paget to write plainly to the Lord Claude, that he hath charge from her to deal with the Lord Claude in this matter, shewing that it is needful to seize her son's person, if he cannot be willingly drawn to this enterprize, and that the next way were to deliver him in to the Pope or the King of Spain.

That Charles Paget should indirectly put the Lord Claude in hope, that she will make him to be declared lawful heir to the Crown of Scotland, her son failing without children, and that she will procure the Catholic Princes of Christendom to condescend thereunto.

She chargeth him not to communicate these things to any, either English, or French, or Scottish, and to pray Mendoza, and the Lord Claude, to do the like.

The letter was first drawn in French by Nau, and then translated in English, and after put into cypher by Curle, and an extract of the principal points thereof, was confessed and subscribed before some of the Lords the 25th of September, which was openly read and shewed forth.

Then

Then was read another letter, which the Scots Queen wrote to Mendoza, the same 20th of May, concurring with the former to Charles Paget, wherein she writeth, that Charles Paget had a large commission from her, to impart to Mendoza certain overtures on her behalf.

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That there was another point depending thereupon, which she had reserved to write to Mendoza himself, to be sent to the King his Master, on her behalf; no man else, if it were possible, being privy thereunto, viz. That considering her son's obstinacy in heresy, and foreseeing the imminent danger like to ensue to the Catholic church, he succeeding in this Crown; she resolved, in case her son were not reclaimed to the Catholic religion, as she had title, to give and grant her right to the King of Spain, in succession of this Crown, by her last will and testament, praying him to take into his protection, both her, and the state and affairs of this realm.

She willeth this to be secret; forasmuch, if it should be revealed, it should be in France, the loss of her dowry; in Scotland, the clear breach of her son; and in this country, her total ruin and destruction.

This letter was first written in French by the Scots Queen's own hand, and then translated into English, and put into cypher by Curle, as he confessed and subscribed the same the 25th of September last.

Upon reading of these letters, it was noted, that the Scots Queen's intention was, to subject this Crown and realm to the King of Spain, to the utter ruin and destruction, both of the Queen's Majesty, and of all the antient nobility, which purpose appeareth to be generally holden by the English fugitives and traitors beyond the seas, as Babington and Savage set down in their several confessions and declarations; and that their intention is, to procure the King of Spain title to this realm, to be confirmed and invested by the Pope, to take
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away all objections against it. And, as Babington saith, Dr. Allen and Parsons staid longer at Rome, to solicit the same.

After this was read, another letter written to the Scots Queen, by Dr. Allen, the 5th of February, wherein he writeth unto her, Madam, my good Sovereign, for our resolution out of Spain, the whole execution is committed to the Prince of Parma.

That Father Parsons, Owen, and himself did bring the King's determination to the Prince, who seemed as glad as they, that he might have the effectuating of it; and gave great sign to do it, strait upon the recovery of Antwerp, but harped still upon this string, that she should by money, or some means, put herself out of their hands.

Then was read the Scots Queen's letter to Doctor Allen the 20th of May 1586, wherein she called him Reverend Father, and saith, they have overslipped many good occasions; and wisheth, that they should not withal omit this new offer, pinching near by this Queen.

Upon these letters were inferred, that Dr. Allen did acknowledge her to be his Sovereign, and to be the Queen of this realm in present possession, and she accepting the same, gave him the title of a Bishop. Whereunto she answered, that though Dr. Allen, and divers other foreign Princes, and the Catholics of this realm did so take her, yet she could not do withal; but for herself, she did not claim to be so.

It is also to be noted, that the resolution which was to be put in execution by the Prince of Parma, and which the Scots Queen was so careful should not be overslipped, cannot be thought to be other but matter of great peril to her Majesty's person and this state. And so it may also be gathered by a letter written by the Prince of Parma to the Scots Queen the 12th of January 1585, where he writeth, that touching the great secret, he would keep it, as it becometh, and put to effect as much as she should command, and should be in his power.

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Also, the Scots Queen did write to Dr. Lewis, ult. April 1586, wherein she willeth him to impart her congratulations to the new elected Pope, and her affection towards him, chiefly for that she understandeth his resolution bent, to follow, as near as he can, the traces and footsteps of good Pope Pius V. of whose memory she beareth a singular reverence, for the singular compassion he had of her present state, and his endeavour which he did manifest to relieve her.

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Whereupon, it is to be noted, that her imaginations be against the Queen's person and state, since she exciteth the Pope to follow the steps of Pius V. who published the bull of excommunication against her Majesty, and thereby denounced her to be no lawful Queen, and discharged her subjects of their obedience and allegiance; out of which root hath sprung all the traitorous practices that have since been attempted against her Highness's person.

And for the verifying of these letters before mentioned, written by the Scots Queen; it is to be remembered, that the original draughts of all these letters, saving that only which she wrote to Babington, which, as Curle affirmeth, she commanded to be burned, as is before mentioned, were found amongst her papers at Chartley and put in a chest, sealed up by John Manners, Esq; Sir Walter Ashton, Knight, and Richard Bagot, Esq; which was first opened and unsealed, and the same draught taken out, by certain of the Lords and others of her Majesty's Privy Council.

After, on the 24th day of October, the Lords and other Commissioners being assembled at the Star Chamber at Westminster, to confer of the said matters, and touching their sentence, Nau and Curle were brought personally before them; and the papers, letters, and writings, which they had before confessed and subscribed, and affirmed by their oaths, as is aforesaid, being then and there likewise shewed unto them, they did then estfoons voluntarily acknowledge and

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affirm all that to be true, which they had before so confessed and subscribed, and that they had so confessed and subscribed the same, only in respect of the truth, frankly and voluntarily, without any torture, constraint, or threatening.

And the said Curle did then also further affirm, that as well the letter which Babington did write to the Scots Queen, as the draughts of her answer to the same, were both burned at her command.

He said also, after the decyphering of the said letter written by Babington, and the reading thereof to the Scots Queen, he admonished her of the danger of those actions, and persuaded her not to deal therein, nor to make any answer thereunto: and she thereupon said she would answer it, bidding him do that which he was commanded, and which appertained unto him.

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No. XVI.

A letter from Sir Edward Stafford, Ambassador in France, to the Queen, with one to Lord Treasurer Burleigh, inclosing it.

[The importance of this dispatch wants no recommendation. None of the numerous Historians and Memoir Writers of this intriguing time, mention any such proposal of Henry III. or the confidence which he reposed in the English Ambassador.

Henry IV. found himself obliged some years after to follow this advice, which in a private letter to the Belle Gabrielle, he calls "Faire le faut perilheux."]

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen.

1587-8.
Feb. 25th.

May it please your Majesty,

FEARING lest you have lost the cyphers that I sent you, I thought for avoiding that mischance fit, to write to you in a cypher I sent my Lord Treasurer at my coming away out of England, with one of the same that I sent your Majesty, with a few more additions than was in yours. If it please your Majesty, if you have not your own in the way, to send to him for it; it will decypher this. I spake yesternight with the French King, who sent for me, by a man quite unknown, to a house that I think I can guess at again, though it were in the night, and that he brought me far out of the right way to it, where I found nobody in the chamber but himself. In the house I heard folke, but nobody saw me, nor I

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saw nobody, for he that brought me tarried not in the chamber. The King began with me, that he had sent for me, according as he had sent the word the last day, and upon the trust and confidence he had in me, and upon the faithful assurance I had given him, both in your Majesty and mine own, that whatsoever he delivered me, I would send it directly to your Majesty's own hands, and that you would do what lay in you for the good of France, and keep it to your Majesty, so that it should never be spoken nor heard of, that he had dealt thus secretly, or confidently with your Highness or any of yours. I told him, that when I made that offer unto him, upon some speech that was used to me by some of his, and that I durst promise your Majesty would keep it most secretly, if either I delivered it myself or sent it to your Majesty to your own hand; that, though I had then no commission to deal, because your Majesty's so often offers to do good had been little set by; I had notwithstanding, presently after I had said the word, made a dispatch to signify what I had done; that your Majesty had made answer unto me of avowing me, that your good will was, that it had ever been unto the King, that you would continue so still; and that for the secrecy of it, your Majesty did assure, that whatsoever he did deliver confidently to me, to write to you, that, I did assure him, and that whatsoever lay in your Majesty to pleasure him in any way that was within the compass of your power, or with possibility to do it with honour, that it should be done; that all things delivered to me, should never be spoke or heard of; that all Princes did use counsel in all things of any weight, that your Majesty's custom was to do so to, as reason was, but that you had those faithful, wise, and secret Counsellors, that whatsoever you did communicate to them (whereof there were not many that you used in those great matters of weight and secrecy) that though you gave them no charge at all, they were so discreet, as they would easily know what were fit to be done: but that I was sure, that if you did communicate it with any, you would give them
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that particular charge, and take that assurance of them, as they neither would, nor durst but observe; and withal, that if he would not, I durst assure him that your Majesty would never deliver to any that which he delivered to me, but to himself. And farther, that whereas that some used some speech to me in the beginning, and Pinard, the last day that he came to me from his Majesty, had cast out such a word, that your Majesty did make him these offers now to him, to make profit of his dealing with your Majesty now, to advance the treaty of peace with Spain, that you was in hands withal, to make your Majesty gainer. That I did protest to him from your Majesty, that you never had such a meaning, nor so much as such a thought. That they were evil-disposed people to break the amity between France and England, that had those intentions, which was their only drift; that I durst answer him upon my soul, that you never had such a thought. He told me upon that, he would assure himself upon my promise, that I and your Majesty would perform it in all points; that he would deal plainly with me, and lay his state more open to you than ever he did to any; that he was very well contented you should take advice of any of your secret Counsellors whom it pleased you; that he knew that you had them that you did assure should do nothing passing your commandment; that he wished with all his heart to have given of his blood that he had the like, that would depend upon nobody but upon his will, his affairs should not (as he termeth it *pendre a la balance* as they do). That whereas the last day he sent me word by Pinard, the answer he did, that it was the Queen Mother and his whole Council's peremptory advice, standing upon it, that it was not fit, that he should desire your Majesty to meddle between him and his subjects; that thereupon he made the answer, and desired me to send it away, as I did by John Fourier, that nothing might be suspected; that I hoped of any thing from him, but that he would deal more plainly with your Majesty, beseeching you with all his heart to do it, and without making known to any, that any request came from him, because they

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they of the religion, as he said, could keep nothing secret, and that your Majesty would persuade the King of Navarre to have a care of his estate, and to accommodate him with his Majesty in such sort as the league might have no pretence to ruin France and him both. Whereupon I replied unto him, the impossibility that it was for your Majesty to deal with the King of Navarre in religion, for the reasons that I had both told him, the other day, and after to Pinard, and which he, by himself in this action, might very well consider. That your Majesty, I durst answer, would do what you could any way, but to persuade the King of Navarre any more to change, than you had persuaded the King of Navarre to take it; that it was a thing you could not meddle in; that if his own judgment would make him do it for the good of his estate, that you would not meddle with his conscience, nor with his soul. He answered me again, that he would deal as plainly with me, as if I were his ghostly father; that as in truth he was so much addicted to his religion, as withal he would it had cost him a piece of his realm and part of his blood, that all the world, but specially France were of it, so he was not so much a *bigot*, as he termed it, which in English is *over-superstitious*, that he would rather let France ruin, and himself, than suffer liberty and exercise both, as he had both done, and would do again with all his heart; but it was now out of his power to do it, or to put France in peace, if he heard speak of religion as things stood; that he dealt plainly with me, that his last hope to have done it was, by the *Reijters** means; who, if they had either valour or discretion, might have made the league, upon their knees, ask that which they had broken in arms, which was, that he expected and looked for, and was the only cause that he would take no knowledge of the many offers I made from your Majesty to stay them, if he had desired it; and that he had given them all the means they desired to have done it, if they could have taken it, and to have kept themselves far enough from

* German troops.

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him, as he kept himself from them, till they would needs come to seek him, and by their own evil government had put him to that plunge, that all the world marked him almost with their finger; and the league had almost overthrown them quite, whereas they had afore then, twice or thrice in their hands to have done the like with them, and have ended all in a day, if they had judgment to have taken it. And when they had failed of those occasions, if they had ravaged Lorrain, and those places of Champaign and Burgundy that were addicted to them, and left none unspoiled, that were any way adherents to them; they would have been glad to have prayed, and he would have made them as much have prayed for peace, as they had sought the contrary. But that, instead of annoying them, they came to seek him out, and let themselves be so low brought to his hands, as either he must have given the league the vantage they desired over him, and have left them the honour of all; besides, that he was constrained to do as he did to take the honour out of their hands. And yet let them lay (said he) their hands upon their consciences, those that were saved, owe him their lives, considering the state they had let themselves be brought in by the others. And that now all hope of any good that way, was taken away, for that they had let them learn the way that was never thought on afore, to ruin as many armies of *Reifers* as ever came into France, without fighting, and which he cannot impeach them of without he make himself a party against them, which cannot be, and that therefore it is not any way possible to have them do more good; but harm henceforward, by giving the contrary party, if they come to the help of them, a colour to call in other * strangers, for their defence, that he feareth worse, and who shall be good soldiers well governed, and well paid, and that shall have all the towns they have at the entry, and in France, to back them, and at their devotion. So that now, whosoever would be the cause of their return, if they could be

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* The Spaniards.

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brought to return (which he doth not believe), would be the cause of the utter subversion of the realm, and therefore the utter undoing of the King and the State; and therefore devised your Majesty to consider that, as one that loved him, as he assured, and had reason to do, in respect that the love of them, one to another, were profitable to both, and to be a means that the colour of maintaining of arms may be taken away, which cannot be, except the King of Navarre yield to him in religion, for keeping the league without colour of arming, did cut their throats; for they were brought into that beggary, as in peace they had not meat to put in their mouths, and every day, more and more, lost some of their affectionate servants.

I answered him as before, that I knew your Majesty would do what you could, and what was reason, to bring things to peace, and to keep them in it, but by that means I saw not how you could do it; for, first, to open your mouth to the King of Navarre of that point, I saw an impossibility; next, though the King of Navarre would do it, though your Majesty did speak to him of it, I know not how he could do it; for upon the Prince of Condé he had no power. And if the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé would both, there were great numbers in France of the religion, and great numbers of towns and strong holds, over whom if the King of Navarre did that, he should have no more commandment, and then were their colours of religion taken away no more, for the King of Navarre's and Prince of Condé's changing, than before. He answered again, that if the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé were changed, the rest would easilier be brought to think upon their consciences, and to dispose themselves to obey time; that though that were not, if the two next heirs were Catholics, but specially the King of Navarre, who was the next to fall (whom in the end, what brags soever any made, if it were not for religion, would ever, and should acknowledge him to be so), these mischiefs that are happened now, under the colour they have taken, and the terror they have

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put into mens minds, by that of the overthrowing of the Catholic religion by the successors that are Huguenots, should cease, and the league brought back again into the same state they were in, in Monsieur's time, at which time they could not find means to have this colour to put out their horns. And to that state they should be put to again, to make them pull in their horns, if that cause ceased, and to their utter overthrow. To the which I answered, that there was a probability in the reasons, if there were a possibility to bring them to pass; but if it pleased him, as he had honoured me already, to put his confidence in me, to give me leave to tell him my opinion, I did assure him that I did find that probability in them, that if I were of the King of Navarre's Council, and that he did command me not to meddle with his conscience, but to counsel him the best way for the conservation of his state, and the preservation of his person, that it should be the first counsel I would give him, to do that which he desired; but if I were of his council, I would rather be torn in pieces, than counsel him to desire it, but rather do what I could to impeach it, if the King of Navarre had any such intent, and would rather wish him (seeing I had seen by proof that pretext of religion could give them that had no interest nor expectation to the succession, such an authority as they had gotten, as neither the King by his possession, nor the King of Navarre with the hope of his succession, could pull them out of it), to desire rather that the King of Navarre should remain as he was, to have that religion to be a bar to impeach him of attempting any thing in his time, than in taking that away, to make him both the sun rising clear, to make him to be worshipped, and to take the eclipse quite away to serve for an object to darken his light. That I did protest unto him, that I did think it, and so assuredly think it, that I durst hazard my life, the King of Navarre neither had, nor ever would have such a thought, what means soever he might have to do otherwise; yet I did think it more wisdom to shut up a treasure house with all keys and bars

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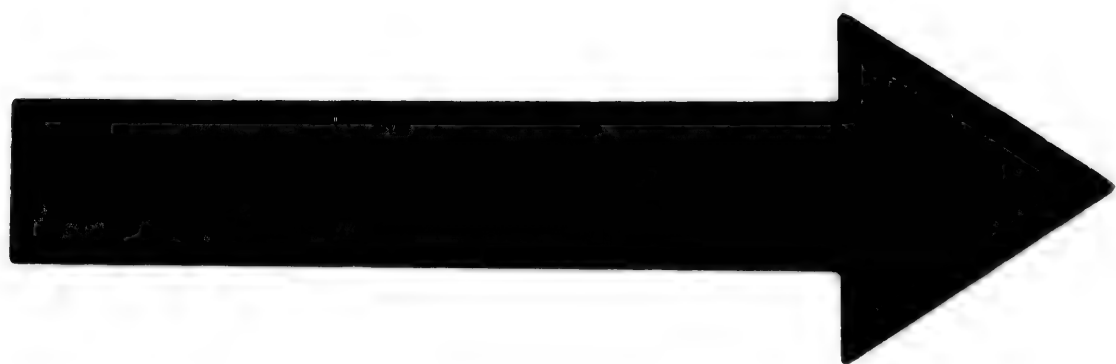
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that could be found, to impeach them that would rob it, if they had a mind to it, than to leave the doors negligently and wilfully open, to set a thief's teeth on edge, and to make him have a mind to it. And so in this, would rather counsel him to hazard the pulling down of them, that had no interest after him, and to permit, for so necessary a respect, so necessary an inconvenience in France, than in taking so necessary a thing away, which he should desire to be if it were not, to incur the hazard of the greater in avoiding the lesser: that I desired him to pardon me, for I protested I said no otherwise to him, than I would advise your Majesty if you were in the like case, with the like circumstances. I assure your Majesty, that he gave the hearing at leisure, and was in a study without answering me a good while. At length, with thanks he told me, that every one could rule a shrewd wife but he that had her, and that he that had her could tell worse the way how to rule her; that that was his case; but that he had rather hazard the pulling them down with the King of Navarre, which he saw a possibility in, and stand upon those hazards, than in letting them have that colour still, to make it an impossible thing to pull them ever upon their knees; but to see them strengthen in despite of him daily, and which he cannot else remedy as things stand, but with the hazard of an utter overthrow of him and France. That as for the King of Navarre, having once the pretence of his religion, and then forgone it, the pretence of Catholic religion would never serve the King of Navarre, to hurt him in his time. And that though he would bring the league with all his heart as low as he could, he would never so utterly overthrow them; that, if the King of Navarre should enter into any such intent, he could quickly raise them to help him to impeach him of any such attempt. I desired him to pardon me, that it was my zeal to have peace and quietness that made me bold, and to have those things done for the effecting of it, that were possible, and to avoid all inconvenience that might come to impeach so good and so necessary an intent, for the good

good of both the realms. He told me, he had opened himself so far, as he never had done to any stranger; and but to few of France, and so few, as if he did tell it me, I would scarce believe it; that he did trust upon my word, both of that I had given him from myself, and in your Majesty's name, that if he were not kept promise withal, he would never have dealing confidently with your Majesty, nor any of yours. That he protested to me, no living creature did know of my coming, but he that brought me, nor he nothing of the matter, nor never should any know more; that if ever it were heard of, he would quite disown having seen me, and have cause to do me all the disgrace that he could, and never to love your Majesty more, but to hate you as much as he loved you. If you deal well with him in this, and put your helping hand to the setting France in quiet, and the pulling it out of the mouth of them that make it a prey to strangers on all sides, that he, being out of danger within France, may help his neighbours without; which he protesteth to do in any need, and never to fail them. That his enemies were your Majesty's, if it were well looked into; that you may first help him, because you are in quiet, and have means to do it if you would; and that, he bid me assure myself he knew, and more than he could tell me, and therefore desired you to put your helping hand to it. And that though his Council, and specially Queen Mother, dissuaded him to desire it at your hands, as a thing unhonourable to him to desire it, that you should meddle between him and his subjects; yet he did secretly by me desire, and beseech you; and that he should think himself beholden to you for it, and most of all, for doing it upon his request, and keeping that secret that he hath requested you, as I have promised; for there was nothing would so much vantage the league against him, as to have known that he had conference in this sort with your Majesty, or any of yours. That his case, if it were well weighed, were both to be regarded, pitied, and helped; that he had not many to trust to, when, his nearest failed him, and they,

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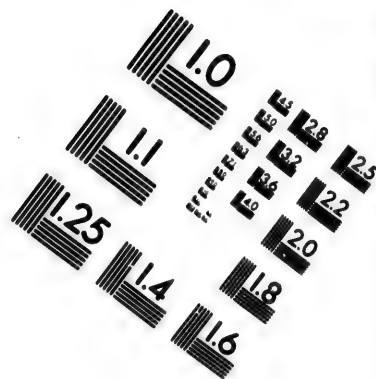
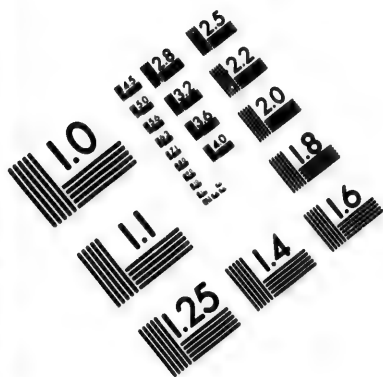
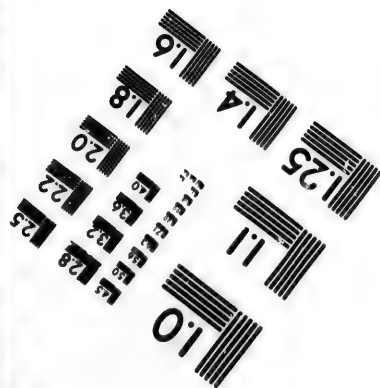
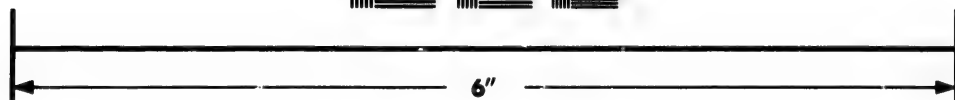
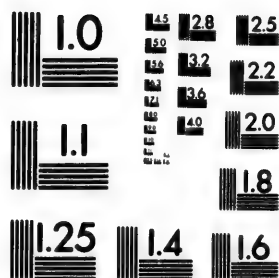


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that with all kind of bonds were most tied unto him; that he had gone farther with me than he had gone yet with any, or ever meant to do again, and therefore put me again, both of mine own promise, and my promise in your name, both for yourself, and your Counsellors, that if your Majesty communicate it to any, you take assurance of them, that it should never be heard of, which I did again promise, and protest to him, both in mine own name, and for your Majesty. And I know you will, and so I humbly beseech you to perform it, or else all confidence in you, and all means for me to do you ever any service, is taken away for ever.

This being done, he fell with me into familiar speech of many things of your Majesty, of your government, of your Counsellors, all the which things I satisfied his demands in such sort, as was fit for me. Then of the Queen of Scots, which I was glad he fell into, because I know there hath been great cunning used to keep that still in his mind against your Majesty, as he himself confessed; and particularly, for I think I left him satisfied better than he hath been, and specially for your Majesty's quite ignorance of it, and mere unwillingness to it; which at the first he smiled at, as not believing it, asking whether it were possible for them? I gave him some reason that in my poor judgment I thought fit; that I dare assure you, he thinks better of it than he did, if he believe it not altogether. From that, how he was pressed, and by whom, and among the rest forgot not Queen Mother, that he stood upon his honour to revenge it, but specially to help the King of Scots, and to egg him to it; whereunto I prayed him with such reasons as I could, to make him probably to see that their intents were nothing less than to care for that; his towns they took in the mean time, and other things they did daily, showed that well enough. He confessed it, and swore by no small oaths, that, if the King of Navarre be brought to that, that he may help the King of Navarre, or that he may have the King of Navarre to help him, that the marks shall remain of it. But that their colour was

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such, and so printed in mens minds by art, that the least stir in the world, that, not being taken away, cantoneth his towns, and putteth all his state in hazard; that perchance the world might wonder at his manner of dealing hitherto; but his state was not as other men's, nor French humours as other people's; that as things stood, he had no way to save himself whole, but that; and if the King of Navarre do help him, will take another course, and be beholden to the King of Navarre, and his friends that shall move him to do it. If not, he must needs keep the same course he doth, to save the State, and to swallow many things against his stomach, to win time, and do that way that, which he can else do no other way. From that, he fell into this peace treating with Spain, which I found he did not believe was meant of any side; for of your Majesty's side, he could not believe you believed it could be; and that he knew assuredly, that the King of Spain meant it not, or at the least if it do, it is but to serve his present turn, and to be at quiet for the time to trouble France, where he hath begun. For he protested by all the protestations that could be, that since this treaty began, he hath been continually pressed by the King of Spain, and is yet daily, and by others, to join to attempt against your Majesty. I did answer him, that I could not tell what to think of that, but I knew it was extremely pressed by the King of Spain; which he asked me again if I were certain of it, and I assured him it, which I think he believeth; and withal, I assured him, that you would do nothing to the disadvantage of him and France, whatsoever you did else, which I think he believeth, but yet feareth this colour of treaty, whether it be in effect or no, will give the King of Spain leisure to trouble him, which as he saith, and hath reason in it, is neither good for him nor your Majesty. And withal, told me somewhat short, he had respect to your Majesty; and that he, almost alone, had held against all the world in that, both at home and abroad, to do nothing might annoy you, and that in truth I know to be true; but that if your Majesty

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had no respect to him, in the end, natural reason must needs carry him away to look the best he can to himself, and draw him to that which he will ever do unwillingly, whensoever he is constrained to it. I assured him still of your good-will, and that the proof of it would show it. He desired me it might be so, for effects must be that which must shew it, and sware a great oath he would requite it. From that, he complains of his merchants taken, and spoiling, daily by Englishmen, and a thing that all the world cried out upon him for, and that he bore as long as he could; that besides the subjects of France, whom he owed a care and respect to, to preserve, it was an indignity to him, which ministred colour to the evil affected, to pique him daily against your Majesty.

To be short, he desired reason for things past, and order that they may happen no more; for he desired no cause of jar, and that he would give none. I assured him of it, that things past could not be remedied, but that justice should be done, and order given that no such inconveniences hereafter shall happen. And withal, took occasion to tell him mildly, that the French Ambassador made things worse than they were, which showed no good-will to maintain amity. He told me in that, he did that, in that point, he had cause given him; but in other things he told me plainly, *Il n'est qu'un sot*; and that, but for Villeroy's sake, he would make him known so, but that he would not Villeroy; and thereupon told me, that particularly the Ambassador should by no means have an inkling of this, no more than any body else: I assured him of it, for all the world, and desired him to be out of doubt of it. From that, he talked of the Count Monbeliard's, and Wirtemberg's levying of men, to be revenged of that, the league had spoiled in their country; but he is not of opinion they have courage enough, and told me with these words, *Ils ne sont que des cocquins, qu'il ne ni e & qu'ils ne romagent tout, le diable les emporte*. I cast out some words to see whether he would be offended if a new army came into their frontiers to spoil them,

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them,

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them, if so they can no farther. I promise you, I cannot assure you of it, but I think he would not be discontented at it, for these were his very words, *Le diable les emporte, qu'ils ny'ont demeuré dernierment, canaille qu'ils sont, & ne chercher leur malheur, & qui ne les demandoint pas, sans faire rien de ce qu'ils & pouvoient aitement faire.* Thus he ended, repeating to me again the assurance that I had given him of the secrecy of this, the assurance of his friendship to your Majesty, in spite of any counsel or enticement, if you gave him cause of your part, and means to that which were good for both, and that he might stop them that meant nothing but deadly harm to them both.

Thus I have been long, but your Majesty must pardon me, for it was my duty to make a plain relation to you, for to nobody else I could by promise. I did what I could to egg him to speak, and to open himself, and I think he hath done more than he hath done to many. I am not wise enough to advise your Majesty what to resolve upon in it, but I think he hath dealt truly in most things, and according as he meaneth. I would wish your Majesty to do what you you could well do to content him; for I am of that opinion, that there will hardly be ever in France, a King of a disposition fitter for England; for surely he hath a desire, if he can live in peace, to attempt nothing against England, or any else. But you had need to take advice of yourself, which is indeed the chiefest of your Council, and of the wisest else you can take advice of; for I am of that opinion, it is a ticklish point to take counsel of; for if, in doing part of that which he desireth, your request were made a colour to the King of Navarre, to do more than you would have him do, and to take you at your word, and to make you to be the King of Navarre's excuse to the world; I am not wise enough to judge what good or harm it might bring your Majesty.

The King's words make me suspect somewhat, and other circumstances make me suspect more; and particularly seeking of the

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the King of Navarre's own folks, what they judge of his disposition, maketh me doubt most of all; and advertisements that I have from divers places confirm me more, whereof some be certain, some I cannot certainly assure you of, of both which sorts I write plainly Mr. Secretary in a particular letter of that, because I have kept your Majesty so long, as I am ashamed to keep you longer, for troubling you, and therefore most humbly taking my leave, I commit your Majesty to him that hath, and ever, I assure myself, will guard you in all your actions, and protect you from all your enemies. This 25th of February 1587.

Sir Edward Stafford to the Lord Treasurer.

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Feb. 26th.

MY very good Lord, I have sent your Lordship a book here that was brought me even now, which I have not yet read, and therefore cannot tell whether it be worth the sending to your Lordship or no, only to serve for a colour that the copy of her Majesty's letter may not be thought upon; which, if my packet of letters were greater than of one letter, might breed a suspicion to have them opened, as I know others have been. I spake with the King, and that at large, as by the copy of my letter to her Majesty you may see. We had discoursed of many things, and did what I could to make him speak, which in truth I think he hath done, more than he hath done to many. And of many things, I avow truly, he was very loath, at first, her Majesty should communicate it to any. We had at length very familiar discourse of many things, and particularly of the Lord Treasurer, and them in his place: he knoweth every body's humour as well as I, and I think better. I found him have a sound opinion of nobody's passions there; but Lord Treasurer

surer. I did not gainsay it. He was particularly contented that I should make Lord Treasurer acquainted with all, if I would; for he told me plainly, that though he took him to be more affected to Spain than to France, he knew him to be faithful to her Majesty, and affected to no passion but her good only, and with these words, *fort homme de bien*. I answered him to his satisfaction. For all other of his fellows I took oath, and faithful promise, to communicate nothing but only to her Majesty, that she might do after, as you may see by the contents of the letter. I pray God send her Majesty to take counsel of that which is best for herself; for surely I cannot tell what to think of this world, nor well judge of the King of Navarre, and that side, as you may see by a particular letter I have written of these things to Mr. Secretary; and also another of the news of the defeat, and taking of Maximilian by the Chancellor of Poland. And so I commit you to the keeping of God. Paris, this 26th day of February, 1587.

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No. XVII.

A brief Discourse, containing the true and certain manner how the late Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine his brother, were put to death at Blois, the 14th of December 1588, for sundry conspiracies and treasons practised by them against their Sovereign the French King; wherein is farther declared the imprisonment of some other of the conspirators and leaguers, with divers other circumstances and matters happening thereupon. Written unto our late Queen Elizabeth, by Sir Edward Stafford, at that time, her Ambassador in the Court of France.

[This Narrative not being an original, nor the copy authenticated, may not be thought to have those marks of genuineness, which the other papers of Sir E. Stafford, inserted in this volume, have; and it must be owned, that some of the circumstances differ from the relations of De Thou and Davila.

It may not be improper to mention, that Stafford, when he came home, was made Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, and a Privy Counsellor. He died in the beginning of King James's reign.]

From the
Harleian
Collection.

IN the time of Lewis XII. King of France, not above eighty years ago, one Claude of Lorrain, or rather Vaudemout, a meer stranger, puffed up with riches and pride, began to set foot, and seat himself in France: who having a very subtle and reaching head, endeavoured to make his benefit of time, by warily and speedily laying

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ing hold upon any occasion whatsoever, whereby to advance his mean estate to some place of honour and dignity. And, because at first he knew not how to speed himself better, he thought himself fairly promoted, when, with much ado, he was taken into the King's household, and made Great Hunter; an office of but small and base account, in respect of the honour which this stranger gaped after. In process of time, after many revolutions and tossings, this ambition was served so far, that he was created Duke of Guise and Aumale, Peer of France, and Governor of Burgundy; and so deceased. But the succeeding offspring of this stranger, not contented nor satiated with the continual great and undeserved favours and honours, which they from time to time enjoyed, by the exceeding bounty and liberality of the King of France, although they were so great, and so many, as might have satisfied to glut a most ambitious and unfatiable gorge, bended and levelled their restless desires to a more high and stately scope, than ever Claude of Lorraine durst presume to think of, devising and practising how they might compass the Crown of France: wherein, by their sinister and indirect practices, they have prevailed so mightily, that they crept daily in credit more and more, and possessed the hearts of the Kings of France in such sort, that abusing their favours heaped most plentifully upon them, and their house, they only, disposed the chief offices both in Court and country, displaced the Princes of the blood from the most honourable offices, and governments of greatest trust, and in their rooms placed men of their own humour and faction, ruling and over-ruling all things in France at their own pleasure; insomuch that the gate of honour and promotion stood open, in a manner, to none but such as depended wholly upon their devotion. Yet perceiving that all this was not enough to help them to the supreme authority, without good right to it, or at leastwise some probable show and colour of right; and knowing that falsehood and lies can hardly have a plausible passage amongst

* Grand Veneur.

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men, except they mask disguised with a visage of truth (for all men naturally do embrace that which they know, or think to be true), they feigned to themselves a certain odd title to the crown; deriving their pedigree from Charlemaine, but by such uncertain, false, and counterfeit descents, yea, and such as, through extreme age, were long ago worne out of date, that they may as well (and better) claim to be monarchs of the whole world by lineal descent from Adam, as to ascend to the crown of France by such worm-eaten, rotten, and broken degrees. And to make this their title more plausible in the ears of the simple, they suborned men of no small learning to print and publish books in defence thereof. In which books this their mishapen title, painted and shadowed with colours of rhetoric, was slubbered over with some sorry arguments, and slender proofs, to induce and settle in men's hearts a liking or good opinion of their pretended right. But their proofs fell out to be so weak, and their reasons so forceless, that no man in his right wits, except he were their creature or beadsman, and so devoted to them that he would believe any thing, though never so untrue, which made for the Guisian greatness, could thereby be persuaded to like the better either of them, or their forged title.

These things brought to this unlucky pass, the late Duke of Guise, following the footsteps of his predecessors, by whom he had received an ambitious desire, and aspiring mind to the crown, ingrafted in himself as hereditary in his own conceit; and being, from his infancy, instructed by the late Cardinal of Lorraine, his uncle, and armed with divers politic instructions, and subtle plots how to carry himself in so dangerous an enterprise; amongst all the rest of those cunning and deep devices, thought it fittest for his purpose, to direct his chiefest endeavours to nourish and maintain, by all possible means, the civil discord and long continued quarrel between the Protestants and Papists; that, in the midst of these domestical uproars, he (by shewing himself very hot and forward, and somewhat extraordinarily zealous in defence of the Romish Church, and in the sup-
pressing

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pressing of the King of Navarre, and the Princes of the Blood, professors of the reformed religion,) might easily procure himself to be the head of that faction, of which his predecessors and he had been such notable furtherers. And persuaded himself, not without probable likelihood, that, by that means, he might gain, and firmly unite unto himself, the hearts of the Catholics, and make himself great with the forces of that faction, and with the King's powers purchase authority, whom (though half unwilling, and yet not daring to do otherwise at that time,) he had drawn to call in his edicts of pacification, and to denounce open war against the King of Navarre and those of the religion. Nevertheless, perceiving that the King prosecuted the matter but faintly (in truth because he durst not trust the Guise, or any of his favourers with too great a power, for fear lest they should convert his own forces to his own overthrow and destruction, as divers presumptuous, and some very apparent practices of the Duke, did give him just occasion to suspect), he determined to take another course, though somewhat more dangerous than the former, yet of more moment and assurance, for the effecting of his conceived purpose. Whereupon, the Duke dealing with divers great Peers and States of France, especially such as either kindred to himself, hatred to the King of Navarre, desire of innovations, because the present Government did not satisfy their ambitious appetites, or superstitious zeal without knowledge, had made partakers of his quarrel, told them openly that the King's carelessness, and cowardice in this religious and holy enterprize, was the only cause of the prosperous success of the Protestants, who began in divers parts of France to grow very strong, and greatly to prevail, because the King either would not, or durst not maintain a sufficient army in the field to impeach their proceedings; which mischief (as he said) was grown to that greatness, that it could not, by any means, be redressed, except those peers and states (to whom the reformation of the commonwealth in such desperate cases doth appertain,) did join together in an holy league. (so called, because re-

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ligion was the chiefest cause they did pretend in that action), where each should be bound to other by solemn and mutual oath, to set to his helping hand, to the uttermost of his power, for the removing of such corrupt minions (as he termed them) from the King, as favoured the King of Navarre, and laboured underhand to hinder the wholesome counsels, and politic platforms, agreed upon in Common Council by the Peers and States, for the benefit and honour of the King and Commonwealth, and the enlarging of the Catholic religion: and that they should swear never to make any peace with the King of Navarre, or give over the war against him, and his adherents, until they had utterly subverted and overthrown them all. To which unholy league divers of the Peers, and other great men, were sworn, being seduced by these, and such like persuasions.

The league being thus on foot, hath hatched, and brought forth a million of mischiefs; and it cannot be denied but that all the chief doers therein, with their complices, favourers, and abettors, were to be judged and deemed no better than arrant traitors to the King, and enemies to the Commonwealth: for leagues are to be made only between absolute Kings and Princes of Free States and Cities, for the maintenance of amity, and intercourse of traffic to be had between either countries, and for the mutual help and succour the one is to afford the other against dangerous enemies, or for some such other public or private respect, as may greatly concern the commodity and welfare of those countries, between whom the league is to be concluded. But, that subjects should bandy themselves against their sovereign, or join in league without his consent, to reform and redress such things, as in the government of the state they suppose to be amiss, hath ever (and that deservedly) been counted a conspiracy or rebellion, and a point of most dangerous and detestable treason. It hath always been an usual practice for traitors to pretend reformation of the State, and of the King's court, from corrupt and bad humours, making this false show of zeal for their country's good, a snare to blind and entrap the ignorant, and unlearned multitude

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tude withal, and a cloak under which they shroud their ambitious intents and treacherous drifts. No nation, almost in any age, but can produce plentiful store of examples herein: but, instead of all other, I will only deal with the Duke of Guise, the sequel of whose cunning practices doth plainly prove, that he meant only, under colour of bettering, to disturb all things, that in the midst of these broils he might lay hold both of the King's life and crown, if opportunity and his ability would serve him thereto. In prosecuting which his purpose, he practised underhand with the King of Spain, and procured from him secretly 300,000 pistolets of gold yearly, to be distributed to the chiefeft of the league, of which sum himself had each year 150,000 pistolets. But, no doubt, herein the King of Spain and the Duke had their several ambitious ends. The Duke made reckoning, that by this money, and by the French King's authority, he should be able to overmatch the King of Navarre, and in the end to set himself above all others in the management of matters of estate; and to seize upon so many of the greatest, strongest, and richest towns and fortresses of the realm into his hands, that he might be able at his pleasure either to make away the King, or else to thrust him into some abbey, there to live upon some sorry pension, and so to invest himself with the long desired name of King, being then, and long before, *Dominus fac totum*, the chief commander both of the King and country. On the other side, the King of Spain hoped, that, by this money, he should keep the Frenchmen so busied and troubled at home, that they should not have leisure to think upon the attempt of any thing in the Low Countries; the government and protection of which provinces, about that time, was offered unto the French King, by some of the States of those Provinces. And also, that ministring matter wherewith to continue the fire of this intestine dissention, and unnatural discord amongst them, he should shake and weaken the estate of France, whose greatness and prosperity was always an eye-fore to him, and his predecessors.

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And lastly, that by his bountiful liberality, he should bind many of the nobles unto him in such sort, that he might, one day, by their assistance, make a prey of France, as he had done heretofore of Portugal, by the like corrupt and unking-like practice. And although the French King began to suspect the unfortunate event of these traiterous and damnable drifts, and greatly to lament the misery, wherein both himself and his whole country were like to be plunged, yet because the Duke of Guise bore so great sway over all France, and had the greatest part of most vigilant and desperate noblemen at his devotion, he was enforced to set a fair face on the matter, and wisely to dissemble, as if he had suspected nothing, until time should afford him fit occasion to be revenged at the full. And, in the mean season, he determined to deny nothing absolutely that the Duke of Guise should request, but withal to endeavour, as much as he could, secretly to thwart and cross his purposes, and to draw some of his enterprizes to sort to a more contrary event, than the Guise should either suspect or imagine; wherein the Guise, or any man else was the easier to be deceived, because the world never thought the King to have half that politic wit, deep judgment, and undaunted courage, and admirable constancy, which, by his resolute and rare attempts, luckily since that time achieved, he hath showed himself to have. Inasmuch, that when the Duke of Guise and those of the league had 30,000 men in the field against the King of Navarre, and very importunately solicited the French King to levy another army to the same purpose, the King yielded very willingly to furnish, and set forth 20,000 men; but yet, therewithal, he persuaded the Duke of Guise, that it would be most convenient for those present wars, to divide the whole army into three equal parts, that they might all, at once, invade the King of Navarre with such fury, and so molest him on all sides, that he should never be able to make head any one way, without imminent danger to lose all another way. This carried a very fair colour of reason. But the King did it especially to this end, that he might procure two parts of three to be guided by his own especial

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especial friends, whereas otherwise, some one of the Duke of Guise's house, should have been General of the whole 50,000, a thing too dangerous for the King to endure. Wherefore he wisely, without any suspicion, brought to pass, that the Duke Joyeuse, and the Duke of Espernon, both persons to the King's especial favour and liking, preferred to honour, had the leading of the two armies; and the Duke of Mayne, the Guise's brother, commanded only the third part. So that the King sending at first but 20,000 to the field, had about 33,000 at his devotion; and the Duke, with those of the league, who sent 30,000, had at their commandment not 17,000. And after that the Duke Joyeuse was slain, and his whole army defeated, the King (who by agreement should have paid all the three armies) fed the Duke of Mayne with delays in such sort, that for want of victuals and pay, he was constrained to dissolve and break up his camp, and get him home. It cannot be denied, but that the King wrought herein wonderfully politickly, the which notwithstanding was not conveyed so closely, but that the Duke of Guise soon perceived the drift thereof; for it is hard to halt before a cripple. The Duke therefore, half despairing to achieve the end of his unsatiable desires by these means, and relying much upon the favour of the Parisians, accompanied only with eight gentlemen, that he might be the less suspected, entered into Paris, contrary to the King's express pleasure and commandment, who distrusting and suspecting the cause of his coming, had given him to understand that he was altogether unwilling to have him come thither, before he had appeased the troubles of Picardy, and quite taken away the causes thereof. But the Duke, notwithstanding the King had forbidden his coming thither, having laid sundry traiterous platforms for the seizing of the King's person, and dispatching of him, being the only man that stood in his way; and purposing withal to pick quarrels with some of the wealthiest citizens in Paris, thereby to enrich himself with their goods, and possess himself of the King's treasure, being at that time kept in the Exchequer in Paris (for money was the sinews and

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strength whereby he hoped to uphold this miserable war), thought he could not find out a fitter and more assured place, wherein to execute his intended mischiefs, than Paris, being a town always affectioned to him, and swarming with multitudes of poor artificers, porters, and peasants, who, in hope of impunity and reward, are ready at all times to attempt mutinies, murders, or any kind of villanies whatsoever, if they may but be egged on, encouraged, or countenanced by any man of authority or honour, that in such actions will undertake to be their head and ringleader; as the miserable and more than barbarous massacre, most cruelly executed in that accursed town, upon the most renowned and worthy Admiral Chatillon, and sundry nobles, gentlemen, students, and other men and women of all sorts, so that they were suspected to be of the religion, may give sufficient testimony. And although the Duke, by reason of their bad disposition and deadly hatred that they always bore to those of the religion, did assuredly know that they would be ready at all times to put in practice his cruel and bloody designments whatsoever; yet, that he might make himself stronger in Paris, and provide sufficient store of bloody and desperate captains to govern and lead the unskilful multitude in those troublesome tumults, he caused sundry gentlemen and strangers, that were his friends and retainers, secretly to repair into the town, inasmuch as the city began to be replenished in divers places, and almost in all quarters, with Guizards and leaguers. But the King having secret advertisements before-hand, both of his coming and of his devilish intents, and tending greatly the quietness and welfare of the town, laboured what he could to prevent all inconveniences that might arise. And therefore caused twelve ensigns of Switzers, and eight ensigns of French footmen, to be brought thither, having four ensigns of his guard already there; and caused his colonels and captains to seize upon certain strong and fencible places of Paris, that by that means they might be the better able to suppress any sudden stirs and uproars, and retain the town in obedience and peace. And to that end, he caused

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caused some of the Lords of the Council, and Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost, accompanied with divers officers of the crown and town, to make an exact search throughout all the quarters of Paris, to the end thereby to discover and find out the state of the town, and also to avoid such strangers as should be found there, not to be avowed as they ought. But the Duke of Guise, like to the spider, that sucketh poison out of sweet flowers, took occasion hereof by divers of his espials, that wandered up and down in every corner, to make the people (notwithstanding the King's great care to keep the town in perfect quietness, sufficiently appeared to all wise men, and dutiful subjects) to betake themselves to arms, and rebel, affirming that these forces, which the King had brought into the town, were purposely provided for the sacking of Paris, and putting divers of the chief and best citizens to death. The giddy-headed multitude enraged with these false surmises, animated by the presence of the Duke, and ordered (or rather disordered) by the Duke's followers, made an alarum to arms, fortified themselves in places of strength, assailed the King's forces with desperate fury, slew fifteen of the Switzers, wounded as many more, and unarmed the rest, set upon certain companies of the King's guards unarmed, and cast them into prison, and began to fortify and make trenches against the Louvre, as if they would have besieged the King. But because the Duke perceived that the King kept himself close in the Louvre, whither divers good subjects resorted, to adventure their lives in defence of his Majesty, and also that this broil was hastened too soon, for he would have had the possession of the King before these matters should have been broached, he durst not attempt any thing against his Majesty's person. The King then seeing that there was no good to be done, and that he laboured in vain to appease this tumult, abandoned and forsook the town, rather than he would hazard the state of it by employing his forces against the inhabitants thereof, and so flying from thence, escaped the fury of that brunt. When the King

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was gone, the Duke laboured to make men believe that these broils happened against his will; and to cause himself to be the less suspected, he released the Switzers and soldiers that were taken prisoners, restored them their arms, quieted the citizens, took all the strong places of the city into his own hand, and sealed up the King's coffers of his Exchequer (but took out the money first), protesting that he did it not but to consign the whole into the King's hands, when he should be at peace, or if need were, to employ it for the preservation of the Romish religion and the Catholics, and to set them at liberty from the persecutions which the hereticks, confederates (as he termed them) that were about the King, did prepare for them. And although these insolent attempts, disgraces, and indignities, preferred by the Duke against the King his Sovereign, did manifest to all the world his treacherous and undutiful meaning, yet he took upon him, by a letter sent unto the King, to excuse thematter (God knows very barely), but with brave and high speeches, and afterward proffered unto the King certain articles of accord, much derogatory to the King's Majesty, his honour, quietness, and safety, and tending wholly to the honour and advancement of the Duke and his complices: which articles I have here inserted, that the Duke's disloyalty may thereby the better appear, in that he, being a subject and vassal, dare presume to prescribe laws and conditions of peace unto his sovereign liege Lord, which (no doubt) is to be reckoned a bold, presumptuous, and treasonable action. Some of the articles are these ensuing.

1. That whereas the Duke had spent the greatest part of his wealth and treasure in maintaining the wars against the King of Navarre, and the heretics, and was by that means grown very far in debt, that the King, without any delay, should presently pay all his debts out of the treasure of the crown.

2. Next, that the King should appoint and constitute the Duke of Guise Lieutenant-general of all his forces, and refer all his wars,
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both against the heretics and others, to be ordered by his discretion.

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3. Thirdly, That the King should cause an assembly of the States to be forthwith summoned, to which assembly none should be admitted, but such peers, nobles, and burgeses of towns, as the Guise should make special choice of, for fear (as he pretended) lest some heretic might slip in amongst the rest, which, by his provident care, he meant warily to look unto.

4. Lastly, That the King should renounce all leagues and amity with all protestant Princes and States whatsoever, but specially with the Queen of England and the town of Geneva; and should swear to maintain the Holy League, with other such like presumptuous, dangerous, and traitorous articles, unworthy and unbefitting a subject to offer to his King, which afterward you shall hear more largely, as they were propounded at the assembly of Blois. These articles the King could by no means brook, but because the time served him not to find fault withal, he condescended and promised, that he would submit himself to the counsel and advice of the Peers and States of France, and if by them these articles were thought convenient and necessary for the commonwealth, he would willingly bind himself to the observing them. In the mean season, the Queen Mother and others laboured so effectually between them, that the King and the Duke, in outward appearance, were reconciled again. The Duke being crept again into the King's favour (as he thought) began, after his accustomed manner, to urge the King very instantly, to send another army against the King of Navarre, whereunto he readily condescended, and sent an army of 20,000, of which he made the Duke of Nevers General, who sometime had been a Guisard, but was now become firm on the King's side, by reason of a marriage which the King had made between him and the Duke of Longueville's daughter. The Duke of Guise did much mislike that the army was not committed to the charge of some of his affinity or
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faction. Nevertheless, because the Duke of Nevers was a Catholic and no friend to the King of Navarre, he durst not find fault with him, lest, in so doing, he should disclose his ambitious humour too apparently. And therefore, seeming not to dislike the choice of such a General, he procured from the King, that a gentleman called La Chastre, Governor of Bourges, a man wholly devoted to the Duke of Guise, might be appointed Marshal of the Field; that, seeing he could not have the chief command of the whole army, yet, at the least, he might be privy to all the intendments of the General, and strike a great stroke in disposing the affairs of the camp, by reason of this Marshal.

This army, as shall afterwards be declared, stood the King in such and so great stead, as if it had been purposely provided against the Guisards. But the Duke having his eyes dazzled with gazing and gaping greedily over sovereignty, and his senses in a manner so dulled with continual meditating thereon, and greedily thirsting to quench his unsatiable ambition, with no less than a whole kingdom, was so carried away with vain conceits and imaginations of ruling and conquering, that he never thought upon the hidden hatred worthily conceived by the King against him; but thinking the King to be void of all courage and care of his estate, never offered to sound the depth of his intents; whereas the King, on the other side (wisely dissembling the matter, and seeming not to take notice of the Duke's disloyal meaning, because at that time he knew not how to remedy it) lay hovering to take the Duke and his fellow conspirators at an advantage, when he might safely, without any danger to himself, be revenged on their cursed bodies, which at length he most happily performed, almost beyond all men's expectation, to the great wonder and astonishment of the world. But all this notwithstanding, the Duke, prosecuting still his intended mischiefs, hammered daily new devices in his head, and at length so far pre-

vailed with the King, that he got him to summon an assembly of the three estates, to be forthwith holden at Blois, where, by him and his faction, were propounded certain fundamental and irrevocable laws, wholly tending against the Majesty and safety of the King, and the lawful title of the King of Navarre to the Crown. The effect of five of which laws were as followeth:

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1. First, Because the King was too backward and negligent, as he pretended, in prosecuting the war against the King of Navarre, the Duke of Guise, by common consent, should be made High Constable of France, an office that by birth appertained to the Duke of Montmorency, and the managing of all the wars should be committed only and wholly to him.

2. Secondly, Because the King was ever careless in spending the treasures of the Crown, bestowing largely upon his favourites and minions, that he should be put to a pension of 300,000 crowns by the year, to maintain his estate withal; and two such treasurers should be named, and appointed to have the receiving, ordering, and disposing of all the revenues and profits of the Crown, as the whole body of the assembly of the estates should please to nominate, which were in effect two such as the Duke himself should chuse.

3. Thirdly, whereas the King was greatly charged with a guard of forty-five pensioners, to whom, besides their daily diet in the Court, he allowed yearly 1200 crowns to each man; that those, and other superfluous officers, as he termed them, should be dismissed, and the excessive charge thereof saved. Here, by the way, it is to be understood, that these pensioners are commonly called in France by the name of *Les quarant cinque*, and are, for the most part, younger brothers of great house, or such gentlemen in whom the King reposes special confidence. Their order is, to go and ride always armed, either with cuirasses of proof, partizans, sword and target, calivers, pistolets, or any other kind of weapon that they best fancy. They always lodge in the next chamber to the King's bed-chamber,

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and, wheresoever he goes or rides, are next attendants unto his person. The Duke did labour to have these men removed from the King, not for their great charge, but that the king being bereft of all succour, and left in a manner naked, might the easier be surprized, and made a prey unto his mischievous and devilish treasons. But the Quarant Cinque (who, if this had gone forward, were like to lose so notable a pension) did generally bear a deadly and unappeachable hatred against the Duke, which afterward served the King to very good purpose.

4. Fourthly, that no peace nor pacification should be made with the Protestants, but that they should be assailed on all sides, with fire and sword, until they were utterly extirpated and rooted out of France.

5. Lastly, that no heretic, nor any claiming from and by a heretic, should be reputed capable of the Crown of France.

The scope of these laws levelling directly to the advancing of the Duke to the Crown, and, by consequence, threatening to the King a headlong downfall from his high throne of Majesty, or else a sudden and unavoidable death shortly to betide him, amazed the unfortunate King very much, and made him call all his wits about him, to devise some one means or other to provide for his own safety with all speed. And, to increase his fear and vigilant care the more, he was, by secret advertisements, given to understand, that the Duke of Guise impatient of longer delay and strait, and full of damnable treasons and conspiracies, would attempt, as upon Christmas day last, to murder him, as he should go to mass in the night. For on that day the King goeth usually to three masses, one in the morning, another in the afternoon, and the third at midnight.

Though the setreacherous calamities, huddling one upon another's neck, had been enough to set some men quite beside their wits, yet did the King, whatsoever he thought inwardly, make outward semblance as if he had suspected nothing. And although his inward thoughts

thoughts were undoubtedly cumbered with clouds of care, yet outwardly he made fair weather of all, and bore himself so wisely, so constantly, and so quietly, that he showed not any more sign of discontentment by his countenance, behaviour, or otherwise, than in the quietest and most peaceable times of all his life before. And which is most strange, he neither took advice, nor did communicate the matter with any creature in the world (though some think he used the advice of his Secretary de Revol), but took counsel only of his pillow, and with mature deliberation contrived a plot in his brain, for the releasing of himself upon these dangerous calamities, and for the revenging of himself upon his hateful and accursed enemies, which he put in practice, and did most fortunately effect, according to his wished desire, after this sort, as followeth:

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On Christmas Even's Even, with us the 13th of December last, all the States being assembled at Blois for the causes above specified, the King gave out that, the next morning betimes, he meant to go on Pilgrimage to Notre Dame of Clere, a place eighteen miles distant from Blois, and to that end he gave commandment, that the Quarant Cinque should make themselves ready very early to attend upon him; and at night when he should go to bed, he willed one of the gentlemen of his chamber to bring him in pen, ink and paper, and then to shut the door to him, saying, that he had some affairs to write of, which when he had dispatched, he would go to bed of himself, without any help. But having his brains busied with a thousand cogitations, amongst sundry devices that came into his head, he thought no way so good, as by making away with the Duke, and others of the conspiracy, to assure his own estate and life. For he certainly perceived, that as long as the Duke did live, neither should himself live in quietness and safety, nor France enjoy any respite from troubles and calamities; whereas, by the Duke's death, himself should be delivered of a dangerous and deadly enemy, and his country of France of a pernicious plague. But sometimes fearing to

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attempt the Duke's death, because he had such a multitude of friends in town, sometimes determining to do it one way, sometimes another way, sometimes to defer it till another time. In the midst of these and other ambiguous doubts, he could afford his wakeful eyes no leisure to take their natural rest. But at length considering his own death to be intended within two days, he thought it a point of extreme folly to spend too long time in deliberating, but resolved presently to prevent it if he could, by hazarding to kill the Duke the next day, lest the day after himself should go to the pot; and if he failed to bring his purpose to pass, then to go on pilgrimage, and by flight to seek somewhere to save his life. And therewithal he thought it very requisite to appoint the means how sundry of the conspirators, being far distant in several places, might all at one instant drink of the same cup, that there might none be left alive in his kingdom that should dare to seek revenge of the Duke's death. Whereupon, he set himself to writing letters, warrants, commissions and instructions, and appointed divers of his friends what parts they should play in this tragedy; but in such sort, that none of them should know to what end, or wherein they were to be employed, until the very time they were to put in practice the thing that they had in charge. In this wise he spent the night, until it was four of the clock in the morning, and then thinking it time to set his practice abroad, he called for one of his gentlemen, who coming in, and perceiving the bed made, and many letters lying before the King, imagined that there was some great matters in the wind, but of all other things he least suspected that, which afterwards happened. The King willed the gentleman to go to the lodging of one Laverdin and to command him to come presently unto him. This Laverdin was nephew to the Duke of Nevers, and had a great charge of horsemen under his uncle, who sent him lately from the camp about special affairs unto the Court. When Laverdin was come into the King's bed-chamber, the King told him, that he had certain intelligence,

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ligence, how the King of Navarre was determined to assail the Duke of Nevers in his camp, and had devised so exquisite a stratagem to entrap the Duke withal, that unless he was presently advertised of it, it would be very hard for him, or any of his whole army to escape. And therefore he willed Laverdin upon his allegiance, and as he tendered the honour and welfare of his uncle, and the whole camp, to ride post to his uncle with all possible speed, and to deliver him a letter, which the King gave him, wherein the Navarre's policy and intent was fully disclosed, as he said, and the means how to prevent it; charging him further, not to disclose this matter to any alive but to his uncle. The young gentleman humbly taking his leave of the King, promised to foreflow no time in these affairs; for, taking it for a great favour to have a matter of such importance committed to his trust and diligence, he made all haste he could on his way, and so much the rather because his uncle's honour and safety depended thereupon. But the King fearing lest some extraordinary cause might stay him too long in town, sent a gentleman after him to hasten away, and to see him on horseback, and to suffer him to have conference with nobody before his departure. This talk thus cunningly told by the King to Laverdin, made the gentlemen of this chamber assuredly to think that this was the only cause of the King's writing all night. And thereupon every man held himself satisfied, not seeking to discourse of any further causes. But the King had written no such matter as he pretended; for the true and certain effect of the letter was this, That the Duke of Nevers should presently, upon the receipt thereof, apprehend La Chastre, Master of the camp, upon high treason, and make him away by one means or other, without producing of him into public judgment, alleging, that he was of conspiracy with the Duke of Guise for murdering of the King. And further he certified him, that he meant that morning to dispatch the Duke, and therefore commanded him to retire with his army towards Blois, that he might have a power

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about him in a readines to withstand any sudden attempt of those of the league, who, as it was doubted, would presently, after the Duke of Guise's death should be once noised abroad, betake themselves to arms. Laverdin made not so great haste, but that La Chastre was advertised of the Duke of Guise's death, half a day at least before Laverdin came to the camp, and advised to shift for himself, by a messenger sent expressly unto him for that only purpose. Whereupon, perceiving it impossible for him to escape, so many horsemen being in the camp ready to pursue him upon the Duke's command, if once he should attempt to fly, went presently and submitted himself unto the Duke of Nevers, and sent his son and heir unto the King as hostage and pledge of his good and dutiful behaviour. By which means, and at the earnest suit and intreaty of the Duke of Nevers and others of La Chastre's friends, the King gave him his pardon. And because the Duke de Mayne was a principal actor in all these conspiracies, and was well known to be hot-headed and rash, and ready for any violent and desperate attempt, the King thought it good, above all the rest of the leaguers, to make sure play with him, and therefore sent an Italian gentleman in Post to Guadagne, Governor of Lyons, to carry him a letter, in which letter the treasons of the house of Guise were declared, but especially the intended murder of the King, and Guadagne commanded to apprehend the Duke de Mayne, then being in Lyons, and secretly to cause him to be done to death. But the Duke de Mayne having intelligence of his brother's death by a courier that came two hours before Guadagne received the King's letters, caused his horses to be bridled and saddled, and his gentlemen to make themselves ready to ride, and sent for Guadagne and others of the chief of the city to come and speak with him. When they were come, the Duke de Mayne in few words declared unto them, that the King had murdered his brother the Duke of Guise, and that he sought the alteration of religion, and subversion of the commonwealth, by murdering the chief Peers

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and Nobles of France; and that, amongst the rest, himself was appointed to the slaughter. Wherefore, he exhorted them, for the love they bore unto their mother the Holy Church, and to their native country, that they would assist him to revenge this open tyranny, and fight in defence of the Catholic religion. Behold the perfect pattern of a disloyal traitor, who seeks to arm subjects against their lawful King, and slanderously to term that by the odious name of tyranny, which in right cannot otherwise be called, than the due execution of justice by the King's authority for treason. But Guadagne and the rest would by no means hearken to these disloyal persuasions, and yet bearing him in hand, that they would willingly adventure their lives, either in defence of him or any of his. This they persuaded him, because they knew not how the townsmen would stand affected in such a case; and that it was not safe for him to stay there any while, but to get him to some place of more assurance, before the King should send to apprehend him. This they spake, to the end they might be rid of his company, misdoubting lest his abode in Lyons might draw a number of light-headed and needy companions to take his part, and by that means raise a mutiny and rebellion, and perhaps enforce the town to revolt from the King. The Duke was as willing to be gone as they were desirous to have him gone, because he perceived that it was dangerous for him to stay there over long, being pent within the walls of Lyons, like a bird in a cage, and amongst such friends as he knew not how he might trust them; wherefore he presently posted away, and escaped into his government of Burgundy. Glad was Guadagne when he received the King's letter, that the Duke was departed, for he doubted that he should not have been able to have executed the King's commandment, the Duke having intelligence thereof before hand; and besides, he feared lest, by his presence, the quiet state of the town might have been greatly endangered. Yet, since that, Lyons is revolted from the King, and joined with the traitors leaguers.

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These two messengers being dispatched, the King sent for one Entragues, a famous captain, some time a follower of the Duke of Guise, but now grown into special favour with the King, and told him, that he would have him ride post presently to Orleans, and, by any means (if he could) make himself master of the town, or, at the least, of the citadel, and delivered to him a warrant, commission, and instructions, what he should do, when he had the absolute command of the town, written all with his own hand, and sealed with his own signet (as also were all the rest of the letters delivered to others), and so enjoining him to be secret, sent him away. But what he had in commission to execute is not known; for he getting possession of the citadel only, and not of the town, could not execute the King's commandment. It is very likely, that there were some in Orleans that should have associated the Duke of Guise in this his last journey, but that they kept themselves out of Entragues's hands.

Chevalier Breton understanding that the Duke of Guise was slain, posted so fast towards Orleans, and recovered the town in so short a space, that together with Chevalier D'Aumale and others of the Guise's faction, they prevented Entragues of his purpose, and kept the town against the King. So that Entragues was constrained to betake himself into the citadel, and there continued, being kept out of the town perforce. The King thought it not requisite to write to any other towns for the apprehending of any others of the league, until he had dispatched the Duke of Guise, lest having too many actors upon the stage at once, his intent might be discovered before the principal part was played. And to prevent all posting and carrying of news, he sent a strait commandment to the post-master, charging him upon pain of death to suffer no man to have post-horses to ride any whither, except he brought the King's own hand and seal for a warrant. These things thus severally done, as if all his affairs and business had been ended, he asked one of his gentlemen if the Quarante-cinque were ready to attend him in his pilgrimage, who answered,

answered, that they were, and waited his Majesty's coming. Then the King willed him to see that all things were in readiness, because he meant not to stay long ere he went. But first he commanded him to go to his cousin the Duke of Guise, and to will him to come and speak with him before his departure, because he had some occurrence of great importance touching the King of Navarre to acquaint him withal. When the gentleman was gone for the Duke, the King called for eight of the Quarante-cinque to come to him into his bedchamber, to whom he declared, that the occasion why he had sent for them would admit no long discourse, because the matter required present execution. But briefly he opened unto them, what manifest and most injurious disgraces and indignities he had suffered at the Duke of Guise's hands, and how that the Duke was not content to have the government of the whole realm in a manner at his own disposition, but that he also sought to despoil him of his life and kingdom, and to hazard the utter subversion of the commonwealth by his most traitorous, irreligious, and bloody practices. Then he showed them a letter of the Duke's intended treasons, adding, with a most pitiful countenance, that the only means for him to be relieved in this extremity did rest upon their dutiful affections and resolute courage; that as soon as ever the Duke should enter into the chamber (for whom he had already sent, not doubting but that he would come presently) they should all set upon him, and kill him in that place, and he would bear them out, and be their warrant therein, and find a time to requite their faithful service to their several contents. He exhorted them to shew themselves dutiful and hardy in this case, urging them, that they, of all others, ought to be most willing and ready to do it, because the Duke was a heavy enemy of theirs, labouring, as much as he could, to have their pensions taken from them (which he himself thought it verily to be with the least for their deserts), and themselves to be thrust out of the court and cashiered. When he had said this, he withdrew himself into an

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inner cabinet or closet, and locked the door to him, having only a gentleman called Logniac in his company, leaving those eight gentlemen in the anti-chamber armed (as their manner was), and every one desirous to be revenged of the Duke, both in respect of the treasons intended against the King, as also of the injury proffered to themselves. Neither had these gentlemen any time to deliberate of the fact, not being made acquainted with it before that instant: for presently after the King was gone into the cabinet, the Duke of Guise thinking he was sent for *bona fide* about some news, with a cheerful countenance came into the King's bedchamber, for whom the eight gentlemen, without any show of anger or malice, made a ward, four on the one side and four on the other, and suffered him quietly to pass into the midst of the chamber. But when he demanded for the King, they shut the door, and presently stepped to him with their poinards drawn: whereupon, he laid his hand upon his rapier, and proffered to draw, but one of them, with his left hand, gripped him by the arm so strongly, that he could not, and calling him traitor, with his right hand gave him the stab: with that, they fell all upon him, and poinarded him on all hands. The Duke struggled, but all in vain, and upon a brave courage proffered what resistance he was able, but being over-pressed with a multitude of wounds, sunk down in the midst of his enemies. And fretting, fuming, chafing, and swearing, at last uttered these words, "My sins have deserved this;" and gave up the ghost. Lo here untimely and unnatural death, the just reward of monstrous treason! Lo here the man whose life had been often glutted with bloody massacring of the children of God, doth now lie groveling in his own gore-blood, having felt the like punishment (though deservedly) which causeless he had often inflicted, and that most cruelly, upon others!

The King, who all this while listened to what was done, perceiving the Duke to be dispatched, came forth of his cabinet, and steadfastly beholding the dead body, used these words, "I had rather

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"thou shouldest die than I;" and caused them to cover the body with a cloth of arras, greatly commending them, and giving them thanks for their good service.

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It is credibly avouched, that not many days before the Duke of Guise was thus executed, he had warning given him by the Princess of Lorraine and Chevalier Breton, that he should take heed to himself, because they understood by some that were near to the King, that his death was intended to be brought to pass, either by poison or by outward violence, whensoever occasion would serve thereto. But he made slender account of their warnings, being stedfastly persuaded that the King either saw not the close conveyance of his secret conspiracies, or if he did see them, that he durst not offer to seek revenge. Yea, that very morning that he was sent for to the King, as he passed through a dark entry in the court, an unknown man delivered a letter to his page, requesting him to give it presently to his Lord, because it required great haste, and concerned him very near. The Duke receiving this letter from the page, found therein written, that the King did intend some mischief towards him, and that he should forbear, at any hand, to come that day in his presence, being a fatal, ominous, and unfortunate day unto him: affirming, with very confident terms, that the King, without all question, would that day attempt to take him away. When the Duke had read the letter, he called for pen and ink, and wrote underneath, *Il n'oseroit*, He dares not; and then very scornfully threw it over his shoulder, that any man might take it up, and so proceeded towards the King's chamber, without enquiring after the party that wrote it, or showing any sign of astonishment or fear; whence may be gathered, that he was fully grounded and settled in this opinion, that the King had not the heart to attempt any thing against him. Thus did ambition blind and besot this fond and wretched Duke, being otherwise wise, and wary in all his actions, that he thought he carried himself very covertly in his practices,

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when in truth they were so apparent to all the world, that all the world might point them out with their fingers. He forgot that old proverb (which, having so often and so deservedly incurred the displeasure of the King, he should daily have thought upon), That a reconciled adversary is not to be trusted. Neither did he once remember the saying of Solomon, That the indignation of a Prince is death. But his appointed time was come, which he, by no means, could alter or defer: for it is not all the wit or policy in the world that can withstand or prevent what the Lord of Hosts hath once decreed. He taketh away wisdom from the learned and politic, and enfeebleth the strength of the courageous. He blindeth the understanding of the most circumspect, when once they oppose themselves against him and his Anointed, persecuting Christ in his members, and despising the lawful authority of Princes: yea, he causeth evil to hunt such wicked men, and never to leave them, till carelessly they run headlong into destruction. Seeing this is the reward of wickedness, cease, ye licentious worldlings, under colour of religion, to satisfy the ambitious lusts of your heart. Cease, ye unbridled traitors, to lift up your arms against the Lord's Anointed. Though the fear of God will not reclaim you, and keep you in awe, yet let this just and inevitable chastisement, deservedly inflicted upon the Guise, be a warning to ye all, by his example, not to delight in bloody persecution, prophane atheism, and ambitious treason; lest, if you take not example by him, and such like, to leave your filthiness and corruptions, wherein, like swine, ye delight to welter, the Lord find you out in his fury, and make you to serve as an example to others, of his most just punishment.

But to return to our purpose, the tragedy being thus begun with the death of the chiefest, the King thought it very necessary to omit no time, but immediately to appoint the other actors their parts; and thereupon, he sent for the Marshal D'Aumont, and Larchant, one of the Captains of his guard, and showing them the dead

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Duke, briefly declared the cause that moved him, in so desperate a disease, to use so violent a medicine; and commanded the Marshal to take with him a sufficient company of his guard, and to command the gates of the castle to be kept, and to appoint men in such other places as he should think meet for the quieting and suppressing of any sudden uproar that might happen, and to suffer none to pass up and down the castle without the watch-word. Then was Larchant commanded to take with him some forty or fifty of the guard, and to go with them into the great hall (which was, in a manner, directly under the King's chamber, where, by that time, the Peers and States were assembled, not hearing, or so much as dreaming, of that which had happened), and there to arrest upon high treason the two Cardinals of Lorraine and Bourbon, the Archbishop of Lyons, the Duke d'Elbe, the President de Nully, the Provost of the Merchants of Paris, the President of Orleans, the Lieutenant-colonel of Amiens, with divers Bishops, Lawyers, and other great men, and to commit them all prisoners in several places of the castle. The Marshal performed his charge very orderly; and Larchant likewise, accompanied with a great many of the guard, every man with his match in the cock, and their pieces charged with the bullet, accomplished the King's command in all points, without any gain-saying or resistance; for he came so strong that they durst not disobey him, and so unlooked for, that they wist not what to say, but like sheep, or rather like goats, who are led to the slaughter, they were all carried away easily. And, lest some busy-headed fellows should take occasion thereupon to make a mutiny in the town, the King, at the very same instant that these matters were a doing in the great hall, had sent one Duchald, a notable captain, with some bands of the Switzers of his guard, into the town, commanding to lock the gates, and to appoint watch and ward in convenient places, and to suffer no man to stir out of his doors, and then to repair, with a sufficient power, to the lodging of the Dutchess of Nemours (mother to the Duke of

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Guise, and married, since the death of her first husband, to the Duke of Nemours), and commanded to keep as prisoners in their own house, the Dutchess, the young Duke her son, and the Prince de Joinville, son and heir to the Duke of Guise, who at that time were all lodged in one house. The Prince de Joinville came to town for no other purpose at that time, but to marry the Princess of Lorraine by proxy, for and in the name of the Duke of Florence, to whom she was betrothed. Moreover, the King, to take away all causes of suspicion, and fear, from the townsmen, and others, that were not privy to the conspiracy, caused to be proclaimed, that this hurley-burley was only to apprehend certain that had conspired the King's death, and that there should be no violence or injury offered to any others; commanding all men therefore, upon pain of death, to keep themselves quiet, and not to stir abroad, until the King's commandment were fully accomplished in apprehending the conspirators. Mean while, the King was not idle, but having, before that, determined what to do in every case, caused the Duke of Guise's trunk and caskets to be broke open, to make search for letters and other news, and sent for Pelicard the Duke's secretary, unto whom the King showed the dead corpse of his master, the more to terrify him, charging him that he was of counsel with the Duke in all his conspiracies, which he must now disclose from point to point; and if he did refuse, deny, or conceal any thing, it should be the worse for him. But because, at that present time, his leisure served him not to examine him at large, he commanded him to be committed close prisoner until another time. Pelicard, being afterward examined, confessed many villanous practices agreed upon by the Duke and some of the leaguers against the King, the least of which were sufficient to condemn his master of high treason. And, if the King had not taken that time, on Christmas midnight mass, they had murdered the King, the Prince of Condé, and the Count of Soissons, his brother. He confessed likewise, that when the King fled from the Guise out

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of Paris, there was a plot laid to have murdered the King, as he should have gone on proceffion. A miserable thing, that these men, who would needs be counted the very main pillars and only upholders of religion, should, in the temple of God, and at the exercise of the highest point of their religion (as, falsely, they term that abominable idol of the mass), offer to pollute their devilish hands in the blood of their lawful and anointed King, against whom, by the word of God (though he be wicked), they ought not, so much as once in heart, to conceive any hurt. But these are the fruits of that Prince-quelling profession of Popery, which frames itself, in most points, to be contrary to God's word, that it may the better be known to be forged by Antichrist: for whereas it is the express commandment of God, that every soul should submit itself to the higher powers, as to the ordinance of God, this antichristian religion not only alloweth, but also, with rewards, enticeth and procureth vassals and subjects to bear arms against their Sovereign, and traiterously to depose or murder him, without regard either of time, place, or duty, or religion, in contempt of God's ordinance, and the politic established laws of all nations. But to return to our purpose, from whence we are digressed: the Queen-Mother, who at that time kept her bed, through extreme sickness and grief, for her ease, was lodged in the most quiet and remotest place of all the castle, far from the noise and concourse of people, by reason whereof she heard nothing of all this business. But the King having accomplished the most part of his desires, thought good to make her acquainted with the matter, and to carry her the first news of it himself. Whereupon, accompanied only with eight gentlemen, that were in his chamber, he went to his mother's lodging, passing through the great hall, where the States remained still, every man fearing that the case might be his own, and revolving in their troubled and disquieted minds, what might be the sequel of this strange attempt; and, as he passed, they did all humble obeisance unto the King, and he like-

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wife very courteously saluted them again: neither could they perceive by his countenance, gesture, or otherwise, that he was any thing moved or distempered with what was done. Being come into his mother's chamber (after he had saluted her, and some few words had passed between them, as touching her sickness, the hope of recovery, and such like matters), at length he burst out into these words: "Madame, there is now no other King in France but myself." She answered, that she never knew it otherwise these many years. But he replied, that he was now King of full years, and out of his wardship. Whereunto she answered, that she understood not his meaning; for she never heard of any that durst or could deny it, since he came first to the crown, but that he was absolute King, subject to the command of none alive. He then, not minding to hold her longer in suspense, discoursed to her, at large, his morning's work, the Duke's treasons, and the causes that moved him to practice revenge in such sort as he had done. The Queen, amazed to hear these strange and unlooked-for news, fetching a deep sigh, said unto him, "It is well done (my son), if it be well done." "But I would you had made the Pope's Legate acquainted with it before you had taken it in hand, for fear least his Holiness conceive ill of the manner of the doing it." "That had been the way to have marred all (quoth the King), and to have had my whole purpose disclosed to the Guise. But now it is done, I mean to certify his Holiness of it, who (no doubt) will approve my dealing herein, as being enforced by necessity to take this, and no other course. And I am sure his Holiness will the rather not dislike it, because at his first instalment in the see of Rome, in somewhat the like case, he used a practice not much unlike to this." And so requesting his mother to be of good comfort, and to have special regard of her health, without troubling herself with matters of importance, which he requested her to refer only to his vigilant care, who would take such order therein as should be to her content, he

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reverently took his leave, and went presently to dinner, where he fed as heartily, and looked with as chearful a countenance, as if he had, that day, attempted nothing but ordinary matters. After dinner, word was brought him, that the Cardinal of Lorraine took on grievously, and used divers reproachful words against the King, for the death of the Duke his brother, threatening to find the means to be revenged. The King, somewhat moved with these presumptuous and unadvised speeches, and calling to mind the disloyal pranks of this undutiful prelate, commanded the Captain of the Scottish guard to take some of his guard with him, and to dispatch the Cardinal out of the way: which commandment of the King he presently put in execution, and caused the Cardinal to be slain. Though this revenge did fully satisfy and appease the King's wrath and displeasure, conceived justly against the Guise, yet to the end those of the League might hereafter have no means to make reliques of his hateful body, he caused the same to be burned to ashes, and the ashes to be dispersed and thrown into the river. And because the King understood that the Archbishop of Lyons was the chiefeft man to whom the Duke commonly used to commit the very secrets of his heart, and that he was also a principal deviser and contriver of all his damnable treasons, he determined to respite his life, and to reserve him in prison, that he might, at better leisure, fetch further matter out of him, and learn of him the very depth of the Duke's intents, together with the names of all his favourers, counsellors and abettors; and at length have him openly condemned by law. But the Cardinal of Bourbon being drawn into this action, by the importunity of those of the League, rather than by his own malice, hath his life granted him, at the earnest intreaty of some of his friends that are near about the King: and the rather, because, being very old, he is not likely to live long; and though he live, he is not likely, by reason of his imbecillity and weakness, to do any great hurt.

But,

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But, as yet, he is detained in prison, as are likewise the Prince de Joinville, the Dutcheſs of Nemours, and the Duke her ſon.

When the King had finiſhed this tragical enterprize upon two of the greateſt perſonages in all France, and others of the Pope-holy league, he cauſed the gates of the town, and caſtle of Blois, to be ſet open, that all might freely go in and out at their pleaſure. That night, divers of the Duke of Guiſe's friends fled from the town of Blois, and other places, to Orleans, to the Chevalier Breton, and the Chevalier D'Aumale, who, as is before ſpecified, hold the town, per force, againſt the King. Entragues, having ſeized the citadel, kept it a while for the King's behoof, and, as much as he could, annoyed the town with his ordnance. But the leaguers truſting to their multitude, offered to batter the citadel, and to win it by aſſault. All day, and all night long, the bullets flew between them, as meſſengers of aſſured death, to whomſoever they talked withal. At length, the Duke of Nevers came thither, hoping to play the ſtickler between them. But wherein the want was, I know he hath as yet done no great good.

Sir Edward Stafford, Ambaſſador for her Majeſty in the Court of France, at Blois.

ELIZABETH.
1586.

No. XVIII.

Letters to and from Lord Leicester, in the Low Countries.

[These letters relative to the Earl of Leicester's administration in the Low Countries, are taken out of a much larger number, which, together with those about the Spanish Armada, and the concomitant Negotiation in Flanders, would form a separate work, and not an uninteresting one. The character of Leicester is strongly marked in them, passionate and vindictive, but with more considerable talents for business, than Camden and other historians allow him.]

From the
Originals in
the Cotton
Library.

Lord Burghley to Lord Leicester.

My very good Lord,

YOUR last letters, come to my hands, were by your Lordship written at the Hague the 29th of January, by which I was glad to perceive you had received my letters sent by Mr. Alye and my son; which were made old letters by the contrary winds, which of late have been so constant to hang long in our coast, as either your Lordship there have cause, or we here to wish it; for it holdeth strongly either West, which pleaseth us to send, but not to hear; or else in the East, which discontenteth either of us in contrary manner. By your Lordship's letters I find many things of my letters answered, and so I shall be able to satisfy her Majesty; but to be plain with your Lordship in a few words; I, and other your Lordship's poor friends, find her Majesty so discontent with your acceptance of the government there, before you had advertised, and had her Majesty's opinion, that although I, for my own part, judge this action

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both honourable and profitable, yet her Majesty will not endure to hear any speech in defence thereof. Nevertheless, I hope a small time shall alter this hard conceit in her Majesty, whereunto I have already, and shall not desist to oppose myself, with good and sound reasons, to move her Majesty to alter her hard opinions. But, to end this writing, I could not but to accompany this gentleman, Horatio Palavicine with my letter, whom, for his wisdom and all other good qualities, I need not to commend to your Lordship, being so well known and approved to your Lordship as he is. From my house in Westminster,

Your Lordship's most assured at command,

W. BURGHEY.

Mr. Thomas Duddleley to Lord Leicester.

1586.
Feb. 11th.

I HAVE long forborne to write unto your Excellency, of the great dislike her Majesty hath conceived of your Honour's doing there, touching the acceptance of the absolute government of those countries, having, long before this time, hoped your Excellency would have sent away Mr. Davison to have satisfied her Majesty, touching your whole proceedings in those causes, as it pleased your Excellency to write unto me, in your last letter, dated the 10th of January, you would do. But forasmuch as neither Mr. Davison is as yet come, neither hath your Honour hitherto written to her Majesty, save of those causes which her Majesty taketh in so ill part, all your honourable friends here have much ado to satisfy her Majesty, and to stay her from such proceedings, to the overthrow of your Lordship's doing there, as would not only breed you great discontentment, but also be the utter ruin of that service, and country, and withal, aggravate her Highness's dislikes of that action. It was

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told her Majesty, that my Lady was prepared presently to come over to your Excellency, with such a train of Ladies and Gentlemen, and such rich coaches, litters and side saddles, as her Majesty had none such, and that there should be such a court of Ladies, as should far surpass her Majesty's Court here. This information (though most false) did not a little stir her Majesty to extreme choler and dislike of all your doings there, saying with great oaths, she would have no more Courts under her obedience but her own; and would revoke you from thence with all speed. This, Mr. Vice Chamberlain first told me in great secret, and afterwards Mr. , and last of all my Lord Treasurer. Unto them all I answered, that the information was most false in every degree, and that there was no such preparation made by my Lady, nor any intention in her to go over, neither had your Lordship any intention to send for her, so far as I knew. This being told her Majesty by my Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Vice Chamberlain also, though not both at one time, did greatly pacify her stomach; and truly I do know, by very good means, that my Lord Treasurer dealt most honourably and friendly for your Lordship to her Majesty, both to satisfy her Highness in this report, as in t'other great action, and so hath Vice Chamberlain done also. But the long stay of Mr. Davison's company, your Honour's forbearing to write to her Majesty all this while, notwithstanding so many messengers as cometh from thence, doth greatly offend her more and more, and, in very truth, maketh all your friends here at their wits end, what to answer or say in your behalf. Her Majesty hath, these ten or twelve days, devised and been in hand with many courses how and in what manner to overthrow that which your Honour, to your infinite toil, and her Majesty's greatest safety and service, that ever any subject did to their Sovereign, hath most gravely and politickly begun, and hath set down many platts for that purpose, which I am sure your Excellency is not ignorant in. And truly the Lord Treasurer hath always besought her Majesty to

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keep one ear for your answer to her dislikes, and so suspend her judgment till Mr. Davison come, or that your Honour did write unto her Majesty. The Lord Treasurer having been from the Court these eight days, her Majesty hath, four days ago, proposed to send Sir Thomas Henneage unto you, with what commission I know not; but Mr. Vice Chamberlain and Mr. Secretary very honourably doth delay his dispatch, by all the means they can, and hopeth to put it off till Sunday next, at which time the Lord Treasurer will be at the Court, and then, by his help, they hope to qualify some part of her Majesty's intentions; looking before that time that Mr. Davison will arrive and satisfy all furies. Mr. Vice Chamberlain hath of late told me of the letter your Honour wrote unto him, which he acquainted Mr. Secretary withal, and took his opinion whether to shew it to her Majesty or no; but finding her Majesty in such hard terms for your Lordship's not writing to herself, they thought it better then to conceal it; but yesterday, finding her Majesty discontented, and hasting to send away Sir Thomas Henneage to your Lordship, they conferred of the letter again, and blotting out some things which they thought would be offensive, and mending some other parts as they thought best, Mr. Vice Chamberlain resolved yesterday in the afternoon (I being with him) to shew it unto her Majesty, hoping it will be some satisfaction to her Majesty in some points, until further matter do come. All this they do to put off Sir Thomas Henneage's dispatch, and yet, if he do come, I hope he shall bring no evil news, for I am sure her Majesty could not have sent any Gentleman of this Court that loveth you more dearly, and would be more loth to come with any unpleasant message unto you. Mr. Vice Chamberlain thinketh that your Honour's own letter to her Majesty will do more good, and better satisfy her Majesty in all things, than all that they can do or say; and wisheth withal, that you would bestow some two or three hundred crowns, in some rare thing for a token to her Majesty. There be divers of that side, who write to their friends

here at the Court, of such things as falleth out there, and so cometh to her Majesty's knowledge by the women, which breedeth some offence, and were better they wrote more wisely, or not at all. The Lord North seemeth to be a malecontent, and hath so written to her Majesty and also to my Lord of War, and, as it is said here, cometh away very shortly. Thus your Excellency seeth how your honourable friends of the Council doth make me acquainted with some of these secrets that concerneth your Honour, which I thought it my duty to advertise you, hoping your Excellency will take it in good part, and so praying the Almighty to bless all your doings, and send you most prosperous success in all your attempts.

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1585-6.

Leicester House, this 11th of February 1585-6.

THOMAS DUDDELEY.

Mr. Davison to the Earl of Leicester.

My singular good Lord,

AFTER my departure from your Lordship, I was detained at the Brill some five or six days by the wind and weather. The Friday following I put to the seas, and, by God's goodness, had so happy a passage, as, the next morning, by ten or eleven of the clock, we anchored at the Reculvers within Margate, and the same night about midnight came to Gravesend, and from thence immediately with the tide hither, where I arrived the next morning early. Within an hour after, I sent to Mr. Secretary, to signify so much unto him, and to know his pleasure where I might wait on him, before my access to the Queen, that I might the better understand in what terms things stood in Court, and accommodate my course thereafter.

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He returned me answer, that your Lordship's long detaining me there, had wounded the whole cause; that he thought her Majesty would not speak with me; and yet wished me to come forthwith to the Court, lest her Majesty, knowing of my arrival, before I presented myself, might thereat take occasion to increase her offence. The same afternoon I repaired unto him, finding him utterly discomforted with her Majesty's hard opinion and course against the cause. He let me understand how heinously she took your acceptance of the government; how she had resolved to dispatch Sir Thomas Henneage to command you to resign it up, and to protest her disallowance thereof to the States: that she had threatened Sir Philip Sidney and myself, as principal actors and persuaders thereof, for which it seems we owe our thanks to some with your Lordship. I was amazed at his discourse, as a thing far from that I looked for, and let him see as clearly as I could, what reasons and necessity had drawn both the States to press your Lordship's acceptance of the government, and yourself at length to yield unto it; assuring him that if her Majesty took the course she pretended, not only yourself should thereby be most unhappily and unworthily disgraced, but the cause withal utterly overthrown, with the perpetual stains of her honour, and detriment of her estate. Within a while after, he went up to her Majesty, and myself in the mean time to Mr. Vice Chamberlain, whither one of the grooms of her privy chamber came for me; I found her Majesty alone, retired into her withdrawing chamber, which I took for some advantage. She began in most bitter and hard terms, first against your Lordship for taking that charge upon you, not only without warrant, but (that which she urged greatly) against her express commandment (delivered unto you sundry times, as she said, both by her own mouth, and confirmed by her Council), as a thing done in contempt of her, as if either her consent had been nothing worth, or the thing no way concerned her, aggrieving your fault herein by all the circumstances she might. And, for my particular,

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particular, found herself no less offended, in that I had not openly opposed myself against it, wherein I had, as she pretended, greatly deceived the opinion and trust she had reposed in me. To all which, before I took upon me to make any answer, I humbly besought her Majesty, first, to retain that gracious opinion of my poor duty, as to think, that no particular respect whatsoever could carry me to deal otherwise with her than became an honest and dutiful servant, resolved faithfully and truly to report unto her the true causes and circumstances of your Lordship's proceeding in that behalf; and next, that it would please her to lend me a patient and favourable ear, which obtained, I doubted not but that her Majesty would conceive more equally both of your person and proceeding, than she presently appeared to do. And then fell to discourse unto her the estate of the country before your Lordship's coming. The general discomfort and discouragement conceived upon the length of your stay. The doubtful terms wherein you found things at your arrival, not only some towns of singular importance, but some whole provinces, inclining to a peace with the enemy, as despairing of any sound or good fruit to grow of her Majesty's cold beginning. The general hatred and contempt of their government, taxed with corruption, partiality, and confusion. The continual profit and advantage the enemy made thereof, with the infinite hurt and peril of that estate, by no means able to subsist or stand long, if it were not the more timely and discreetly reformed. That to help this, and save themselves, they found no way either so safe or so profitable, as to set some person of wisdom and authority at the helm of their estate. That, amongst themselves, there was none qualified for so great a charge. The Count Maurice being a child, poor, and of little respect among them. The Elector, the Count of Hohenlo, and Huenar, strangers, and incapable of burthen. That these considerations had moved the States by their Deputies, to insist so earnestly and peremptorily upon that point with her Majesty,

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jeſty, beſeeching her to vouchſafe ſome principal perſon of hers, to take the charge, as the thing without which all the reſt of her goodneſs, benevolence, and favours, was to little purpoſe. That themſelves (howſoever the words of the contract appeared not, in full and plain terms, to expreſs ſo much) did, and always had taken it as a matter granted; and thereupon not only intended the ſame to your Lordſhip long before your coming, but plainly diſpoſed all their doings to that end, leaving their eſtate, in manner, without all form of government, as your Lordſhip found it, till your arrival; and therefore did the more importunately preſs your Lordſhip to accept thereof. Wherein, though you had, under one pretext or other, long forbore and delayed to ſatisfy them, neither flatly reſuſing it, for the danger's ſake, nor willing to accept thereof, till her Highneſs's pleaſure had been known, and yourſelf in the mean time thoroughly informed of their eſtate; finding yourſelf at length wearied with their importunities, moved with their reaſons, and compelled with neceſſity, unleſs you would have lived there as an eye-witneſs of the diſmembering and diviſion of the whole country, not otherwiſe to be contained, and kept together, than by a repoſed hope in her Maſteſty's ſound favour, which had not only been called in queſtion, but utterly deſpaired of by your reſuſal, you thought it better to take the courſe you did, carrying with itſelf increaſe both of honour, profit, and ſurety to her Maſteſty, and good to the cauſe; than by reſuſing thereof, to have utterly hazarded the one, and overthrown the other. The neceſſary conſequence of which, I proved unto her, by a number of plain and particular circumſtances; againſt which, albeit ſhe could in truth reply little, yet could I not leave her much ſatisfied at this firſt meeting, with any thing I could allege in your behalf; but perſiſting ſtill in her offence, broke many times forth into her former complaints, one while accuſing you of contempt, another while of reſpectiſg more your particular greatneſs, than

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than either her honour or service, and oftentimes digressing into old grievances, which were too long and tedious to write. And because she had often and vehemently charged myself to have forgotten my duty, in that I had not dissuaded or opposed myself against your fact, being there as her Ambassador, and knowing, as she pretended, her pleasure and meaning. I let her see, that I never deemed so meanly either of her own favour towards your Lordship, in the sending of you, or of your own judgment in coming over, so meanly authorized and backed, as to take the commandment of the reliques of Mr. Norris his worn and decayed troops, as a charge very unfitting to a person of your quality, and utterly disagreeing to the necessity of the time and state where you were; letting her see the dishonour and peril must of necessity have grown, if either the action had been longer suspended, or any other course taken to establish their government, than by your Lordship; both commanders, soldiers, and subjects, refusing all other means, and protesting rather to run headlong to the sea, than to fall again into their former disorders and confusions. And herewithal took occasion to remember unto her, that being at the most part of the conferences the last year, between my Lords her Majesty's commissioners, and their deputies, I had heard some one of my Lords, if not her Majesty's self, answer the deputies to that point, that albeit her Highness for her own part intended not to take any further authority than was agreed upon, yet would she not restrain them to give what authority and commandment they should find expedient and necessary for their estate, to him that should by her Majesty be sent over to take the charge of her own; a thing which, I told her, had been confirmed unto me by some of their commissioners, since their return home; adding withal, for my future justification, that I never received line, either from herself, or any Counsellor she had, tending to any such charge or commandment; without which, I might have been accused of madness, to have dissuaded an action,

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in mine own poor opinion so necessary and expedient, for her honour, surety, and greatness; protesting unto her Majesty, that if I were yet there, and mine opinion demanded, I could not tell what other advice to give your Lordship than that you had taken, especially having no contrary direction or commandment from her Highness. And thus, after long and vehement debate, for the first night, departed, leaving her, as I thought, much qualified, though in many points unsatisfied.

The next morning notwithstanding, Sir Thomas Henneage was dispatched in great heat, which so soon as I understood of, I repaired again unto her; and (so much was I perplexed) with tears besought her to be better advised, laying before her the dishonourable, shameful, and dangerous effects of so unseasonable and unhappy a message, and humbly craving at her hands, that howsoever she stood hardly persuaded of your Lordship's dealing, in conscience, as I told her, without cause, she would yet forbear to take a course so violent, not only to the utter disgrace and dishonour of one she had heretofore so highly esteemed, and now specially deserved better measure at her hands, but also, to the utter ruin of the cause, loss of her best neighbours, and discomfort of her good subjects, with her own dishonour and undoing. And here she fell again into her former invectives, aggrieving your fault the more, in that, all this time the matter was on foot you had never vouchsafed to impart it with her, which I excused with all the art I had. And at this time took occasion to press her Majesty to receive your Lordship's letters, which the day before she utterly refused, and now, after she had opened and began to peruse, put up into her pocket, to read, as I think, at more leisure. At length, having again, by many insinuations, prepared her to lend me a more patient and willing ear than she had vouchsafed me the day before, I renewed unto her my former day's discourse, in excuse of your Lordship's action, which, if she did respect either honour, surety, or profit, she would rather esteem a service of singular desert, than

than any wife worthy of her discountenance; letting her plainly understand, that there was no mean course to be taken, either for them or for your Lordship, without a wilful hazard of all. That their miseries grew, especially for the lack of order and authority, and therefore driven to seek their cure from the contraries. That the fact, besides, did proceed from a singular affection, confidence, and devotion to her Majesty, and therefore worthy her gracious construction.

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That in your lordship's behalf, I could not in my poor judgment conceive what might justly offend her. For if she would be pleased to consider the necessity, as well of her particular service as of the estate of those poor countries, left desperate if your Lordship had refused them, she should find you had no other remedy; if her honour, what greater might be done by a subject, than, without increase of her charge, to bind unto her the devotion and hearts of so strong, rich, and populous countries, whose good or ill neighbourhood might, of all others, most profit or annoy her; if her surety, what might be greater, than to have the disposition of that whole estate, so as she might give the law to the one side and to the other, and either lengthen or shorten the war at her own appetite? And here I urged her Majesty's scope and end in this action, which, if tending to the relief and delivery of her poor neighbours, there was no other way: if to abate the greatness of a suspected and dangerous neighbour, there could be no greater or more happy opportunity offered her: If to a peace, a thing (I told her) feared and suspected, what other way had she to make a peace, either good for the poor countries, or safe and honourable to herself; with a thousand other things to like effect, against all which she had little else to reply, than her alledged complaints against the form and manner of your proceeding; confessing that if you had taken the same thing in substance (which, said she, the contract offered you), without the title, she could have been for her own part better satisfied, and her doings, if she should allow of your's, the better justified. Whereto when I had replied, that it was not to be thought that the enemy

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might be more offended, or her case more impaired by the name than by the thing itself; she began to break off, letting me first understand how little she looked for so peremptory, as she termed it, partial dealing, at my hands, of whom she had conceived a better opinion, and towards whom she had intended more good than she now found me worthy of. For the which, after I had given her Majesty my most humble and dutiful thanks, taking herself to witness how far off I had been ever from affecting or seeking any such grace at her hands, I concluded with this humble suit unto her Highness, that she would be pleased, in recompence of all my travails, to vouchsafe me her favourable leave to retire myself home, to bestow the rest of my days in prayer for her, whom, in all appearance, salvation itself was not able to save, if she continued the course she was in, and therefore esteemed him happiest, that should have least interest in the public service. And thus ended my second day's audience; which, howsoever she disguised the matter, wrought thus much effect, that the same night late, she gave order to stay Sir Thomas Henneage, till he heard her further pleasure. The next morning early I repaired to my Lord Treasurer, whom I met upon the way, and followed down to the court, where I acquainted him with the whole course and reasons of your Lordship's proceeding, leaving him as little as I could unsatisfied, in any particular and necessary circumstance. From me he went up directly to the Queen, and, as I certainly understand, laboured very earnestly first to revoke Sir Thomas, which failing of, he insisted upon the qualification of his message, whereof grew her Majesty's second letters to Mr. Henneage, to inhibit the delivery of the first letters addressed to the States, if he found it might hurt the common service; and that howsoever she rested offended without yourself, he should forbear your public and open disgrace. The same afternoon, my Lord Treasurer procured my third audience, before whom I confirmed my former discourse, which I found her Majesty to conceive of somewhat

what better. And the same night obtained leave to retire myself home for some few days. Since, I hear Sir Thomas is awaiting the wind, intending to go forward, if the time yield not some new occasion of his stay, which I have the better hope of, because I find the heat of her Majesty's offence towards your Lordship to abate every day somewhat, and herself disposed both to hear and speak more tenderly of you, and, when all is done, if things be well carried there, will, I trust, deal more graciously, both with yourself and the cause than she hath of late seemed affected; which your Lordship may help somewhat by a more diligent entertaining her with your wise letters and messages, your slackness wherein hitherto appears to have bred a great part of this unkindness. And albeit some of your friends, discouraged with her Majesty's proceeding in your behalf, do happily persuade you to seek to withdraw yourself thence, and to get leave for your return, as soon as you might, yet dare I not, under your Lordship's correction, second their opinion, notwithstanding I know it proceeds, on their parts, of an honourable affection to yourself and despair of our sound dealing here; because I see no other fruit can grow of that course, than utter undoing to the cause, and dishonour to her Majesty, and discredit to yourself. Whereas, on the contrary, the time may work some better effect in her Majesty's disposition, both towards yourself and your service.

The traffic of peace goeth on underhand, as I am advertised, but whether to use it as a second string to our bow if the first should fail, or of any settled inclination thereunto I cannot affirm; however it be, I have no let to tell her Majesty, that the difficulties, for any thing I can observe, will be infinitely great, to make any safe or honourable peace, either for them or herself, without an honourable war, which every man here apprehends not. Your Lordship's supply for men and money hath been cooled and hindred by the other accident of offence taken at your proceedings, and yet live I in

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good hope, that her Majesty will go through with her promise, and give order for your satisfying, when this storm is a little more overblown. I have herein dealt exceeding earnestly, both with herself and my Lord Treasurer, letting them see how greatly it importeth her honour and service, and have received his faithful promise to hold a good hand to the furtherance thereof.

Of Sir William Pelham's coming over, I wot not what hope to give your Lordship; he is now at his house in the country, afflicted both in body and mind. I have once or twice already heard from him, and find the gentleman exceedingly troubled, with the strange and hard measure he hath received, enough to break the heart of any gentleman in the world, of his sort of deserving, that were not armed with his virtue and constancy: but amongst all his other crosses, he doth protest to me, there is no one that grieves him more, than by the malice of his enemies and unhappiness of his fortune, to be kept and detained here from the person and cause he so much affecteth; as I think your Lordship shall at more length perceive by his own letters.

For all other matters, leaving your Lordship to the report of such as be better informed than myself, and craving your pardon for so long and tedious a discourse, I will here conclude with my most humble prayers to God, to bless your honourable labours with happy and honourable success. At my poor house, London, the 17th of February 1585-6.

Your Lordship's ever bounden and assured, do you humble service.

W. DAVISON.

Earl

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Earl of Leicester to Sir Francis Walsingham.

Feb. 8th.

MR. SECRETARY, being loth to trouble my Lord with too long a letter, maketh me thus bold to use some addition to you, being not only grieved, but wounded to the heart. For it is more than death unto me that her Majesty should be thus ready to interpret always hardly of my service, specially before it might please her to understand my reasons for that I do. For my own part, I am persuaded hitherto, there could not any better service be done unto her Majesty in these parts, and if some other man had done it, it could not be but it had been much better accepted. At the least, I think she would never have so condemned any man before she heard him. And under her Highness's pardon and favour, I dare refer the judgment of this matter, when it shall be duly examined and heard, to her Majesty's own self, or to my worst enemies, wheresoever they be, much rather to any or to all her Privy Council. All her Majesty can lay to my charge is, going a little further than she gave me commission for; if the matter be well considered, the step forward is not so great, if my authority, contracted before between her Majesty and the States, be well perused. And I thank God there is no treachery nor falsehood in this I am blamed for. The Lord grant her Majesty patiently to consider by this my doing, where-with she is any way damnified, or farther engaged to the States than she was before.

Her Majesty, I do remember well indeed, and so may you, how before all my Lords, she seemed to dislike that I should take any other charge than as her General, or to make any oath to them here, any manner of way. I told her Majesty likewise in the same presence, it was then for no purpose for me to go into these countries; for if it were to be but her General only of 5000 men, Mr. Norris had that charge already, and better able to discharge it than I.

I did.

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I did likewise put her both in remembrance of her contract with the States, which had allowed me far more authority than that, and of the dealing of my Lord Treasurer, and of yourself also, with them, about a further entertainment for me, as in respect I should be their officer, as well as her Majesty's, in which I refer myself to both your reports, being then present: for they always answered me, there was no doubt but they would deal with me, as well as ever they did with the Prince of Orange. But her Majesty indeed would not then hear of it, though I made petition to be discharged of the journey. Yet afterwards in speaking with her, I found her very well content I should receive any thing from their hands whatsoever, so it might not proceed from herself, but of themselves. I did desire you, Sir, at that time, to move her Majesty most earnestly for my stay at home, telling you how much I should undo myself, and do her Majesty no service, going after that manner. And if I be not forgetful, it seemed then to you likewise that her Majesty was willing enough that I should receive such charge and entertainment, as of themselves the Estates would lay upon me, and give me. But I will not stand greatly hereupon, but admit me to be even according as her Majesty did contract with the Estates: is it not there agreed, I should be General of their wars and armies, as well as of her Majesty's? Was I not placed there as Chief Counsellor of the Estate among them, and two nominated also by her Majesty to assist me? I suppose in this place it was not meant neither for me nor them, as counsellors for the wars only, for then I am sure there should have been named more famous Captains to assist me. Besides, I am there authorized to deal in money matters, and mints, and such like, which are mere civil causes: if then it be so that this authority was given me before, by her Majesty's and the Estates' contract, and that they would, partly from the honour borne to her, and partly for that they would have the world know, they rely wholly upon her, make choice of me, so far interested already among them, and give me a title and place which some other must have

have had, as shall plainly appear to her Majesty by Mr. Davison; and that her Majesty is neither farther charged thereby, nor by any means drawn into any farther action or bond than she was before, and that of necessity some one must have had the place; I would fain know if any other had had it, but one wholly her Majesty's, whether she had not been disappointed of every part of that she looked for, specially for a good peace for herself and England? And whether the said payment of her waged soldiers by them, or the strength of all the garrisons placed by them, or the navy and mariners of these countries had been, without this authority to one of hers, at her Majesty's commandment or no? If then, by taking this place upon me, her Majesty being thereby no way to be charged, either by the King of Spain or otherwise, since it was the Estates' own election, and a matter merely done by themselves, to offer these great advantages to one of her own; methinks it should not receive so hard a construction, seeing, by the placing of me, the only benefit and greatest honour doth grow to her Majesty's self every way. For my own particular, I know it had been far better another had had it than I; but for her Majesty, if her gracious good opinion were not prejudiced already against me in this matter, both herself and all others must think it is much better for her service, in the hands of her own than of any other whosoever. But yet I am now very sorry that ever I was employed in this service: for if any man, of a great number else, had brought such a matter to pass for her, I am sure he would have had, instead of displeasure, many thanks. But such is now my wretched case, as for my faithful, true, and loving heart to her Majesty and my country, I have utterly undone myself; for favour I have disgrace, and for reward utter spoil and ruin. I could have taken warning of this before, if I would have doubted so much of her Majesty's goodness, or have cared more for my quiet and ease at home, than for her service abroad: and I am not so rich, but I might both well have spared my charge, and saved the labour of so dan-

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gerous a journey. But to conclude, if to make her Majesty to have the whole commandment of all these provinces, of their forces by sea and land, of their towns, and of their treasure, with knowledge of all the secrets of their Estate, yea, and to have brought over what peace she would, besides divers ways and means likely to have eased a great part of her charges, only by taking upon me the name of Governor, is so evil taken, as it hath deserved dishonour, discredit, disfavour, with all griefs that may be laid upon a man, I must receive it as deserved of God, and not of my Queen, whom I have revered with all humility, and whom I have loved with all fidelity. It shall end thus, that as I find myself most deeply wounded, and seeing her Majesty's good favour and good opinion drawn from me, that she conceiveth I have, or do belike seek rather my own glory than her true service, not forgetting that some such words were used of me, when I made suit to her Majesty to have a few Lords over with me, I do humbly beseech her Majesty by you (for I know my writing to herself, having these conceits of me, shall but trouble her) to grant me leave, as soon as she shall appoint one here, to supply my place for her better service, which I desire with all speed, and the sooner the better, to go live in some obscure corner of the earth, where I will end these grievous days in true prayer to God for her. And, as the Lord doth know, when she thought me any way touched with vain glory, I had no cause of vain glory to boast of. If I may glory in any thing, it must be, I see, in the crosses of this world, which Almighty God strengthen me unto. And so thinking every day a year, till I may receive order and dispatch of this place, I bid you heartily farewell. From the Hague, in Holland, the 8th of February, 1585.

Your loving friend,

R. LEYCESTER.

Earl

Earl of Leicester to the Lords of the Privy Council.

MY very good Lords, I have, to my very great discomfort, received from you her Majesty's great dislike of my acceptance of this government, and that she will by no means avow, but rather disavow wholly, that which is done therein. I was someways a very unfortunate man, I must confess, that found scant of her Majesty's wonted favour towards me before my going to take so great and weighty a charge, as this in hand, not being ignorant of the infinite hazards, that I must put my own poor estate into, both life and all. Nevertheless, the Lord God doth know, unto whose mercy I do appeal, the very abundance of my faithful hearty love, borne ever to the preservation of her sacred person, and the care of her prosperous reign, over our poor endangered country, was only cause thereof. But, my Lords, thus much hope had I always, notwithstanding, in the great goodness of her Majesty, that in so weighty a case as this is, her Majesty would, before she had condemned me so far, have heard what reasons moved me to do this I have done, above her commission or commandment. And I doubt not but her Majesty, and you all, shall well find, that I have adventured more, to do her Majesty acceptable service thereby, than to do myself either honour or good. And as your Lordships have had good experience heretofore, of the uncertainties of these passages, so was I here forty-three days before I did once hear word out of England. And for this matter, to satisfy either her Majesty, or your Lordships, as it ought to do, must stand upon sundry reasons which necessity brought forth at this time, to cause me to accept of this government, which I had delivered to Mr. Davison, to declare both to her and to your Lordships. I do most humbly beseech your good Lordships to examine all those reasons but indifferently, if they seem to your wisdoms other than might

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well move a true and faithful careful man to her Majesty, to do as I have done, I do desire, for my mistaken offence, to bear the burden of it, which can be no greater than that which her Majesty hath already decreed, to disavow me with all displeasure and disgrace; a matter of great reproach and grief as ever can happen to any man. And according to her will, which I perceive is meant by her Majesty, I will be ready (seeing it not otherwise to be presently used) to obey her pleasure, if it were presently to give it, without any more ado, over again to them: but respecting what hindrance it may be to her Majesty's service at this time and to the whole cause, I trust I shall not offend your Lordships, nor her Majesty, to give this simple advice, that it may please her to send some nobleman with all speed, whom it shall like her, to supply my place, according to her first meaning, and to revoke me, which I will humbly obey, and take it as a matter from God, who can and will correct the ways of sinners, protesting, in his presence, and by the belief I have in Christ, that I have done nothing in this matter, but, to my judgment, of such consequence for her Majesty's service, besides the furtherance of the cause here, as if life, land, and goods had lain upon it, I must have adventured it, as for an acceptable service. And yet when I set my foot on land, I no more imagined of any such matter to be offered me, or more than was by her Majesty and the Estates contracted, than I thought to be King of Spain, nor till I came to this town twelve days after: and yet was there some near affinity with this, by that contracted between her and the Estates. I have no cause to have played the fool thus far for myself, first, to have her Majesty's displeasure, which no kingdom in the world could make me willing to deserve: next to undo myself in my latter days, to consume all that should have kept me all my life, in one half year: and so much gain have I here by it, as I have lived and spent only of my own, since I came, without ever having penny or groat from them, neither shall get so

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much by them all here, if I had served them these twelve months, as I have spent since I saw her Majesty and your Lordships last: but I must thank God of all, and am most heartily grieved for her Majesty's heavy displeasure. I neither desire to live, nor to see my country with it. For if I have not done her Majesty good service at this time, I shall never hope to do her any, but will withdraw me into some out-corner of the world, where I will languish out the rest of my few too many days, praying ever for her Majesty's long and prosperous life, and with this only comfort to live an exile, that this disgrace hath happened for no other cause, but for my mere regard for her Majesty's estate, being driven to this choice, either to put myself into her hands, for doing that which was most probably best for her service, or else lose her that advantage, which, at that present let slip, was not possible to be gotten for her again. I doubt not but, ere this, Mr. Davison hath presented to her Majesty my own letter, and acquainted all your Lordships with such reasons as have moved me to deal as I have done, who was dispatched hence four days before I received your Lordships letters, leaving me in opinion, if her majesty had not thus conceived of it as she now doth, that I would have thought my service had deserved more thanks. I shall now attend her Majesty's further pleasure, not daring to write to herself, being thus offended, but will humbly desire your Lordships good constructions of my doings to her Highness, if you shall find the consideration worthy, with your honourable and friendly means in my behalf, being a man absent, but most faithful and loyal to my most dread Sovereign Mistress, and so will be to my life's end, and, to my power, humbly thankful to your Lordships all, for the good favour you shall shew herein towards me. And so will pray unto God to keep you all in his fear, with long life.

From the Hague, the 8th of February 1585.

Earl

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March 10th, 1585-6.

Earl of Leicester's letter to Mr. Davison, expostulating with him, and Mr. Davison's notes in the Margin upon it.

Denied.

I appeal to the testimony of others.

The contrary appears.

He was dispatched the same night I arrived.
Let Sir Philip Sidney and others witness.

I did my best to satisfy her Majesty, wherein I appeal to her own conscience and the testimony of others.

This had been a trick of supererogation more than I was fit to undertake.

As truly and particularly as himself or any man there could have done.

His end in coming over, with some other circumstances, may decide this question.

IT hath not grieved me a little, that by *your means* I have fallen into her Majesty's so deep displeasure, but that you have also *so carelessly discharged your part*, in the due declaration of all things as they stood in truth. Knowing most assuredly, that *if you had* delivered to her Majesty indeed the truth of my dealing, *her Highness could* never have conceived as I perceive she doth. For by the letters and messages I have received by Mr. *Henneage*, neither doth her Majesty know *how hardly* I was drawn to accept this place before I had acquainted her, wherein no man living knew so much as yourself, to have satisfied her, as you faithfully took upon you, and promised you would, in such sort as you would not only give her Majesty full satisfaction, *but would procure me many great thanks*. Neither is *her Majesty informed rightly* what authority I have received, for if you had done it certainly as it was, she would not be so offended as she is. For as *you did chiefly persuade me* to take this charge upon me, so yet did I not deal so vainly, as it seems her Highness conceives, as though I was so glad of the place, I did not care how I engaged her Majesty, contrary to her will and pleasure, by my acceptance of the place, of which

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For the clearing of some scruples depending on that charge, not for the thing itself.

All this while there was no note of any contrary commandment.

All this makes nothing to the purpose against me.

As far for as I was able.

As much as any private friend he hath.

A doubt bewrayed I confess, but no commandment to the contrary.

Standing with her Majesty's honour and service not against her express commandment.

As a man honestly affected to the cause, and more to himself, than this dealing meriteth.

Absolutely denied.

Though it were less than you make it, yet it is heavier than many men would bear for your sake.

no man knew better how to discharge me of that than yourself, who can remember *how many treaties* you and others had with the States before I agreed for all *your and their persuasions*, to take it sooner, and nothing did I seek more, as both the Dr. Clerks can also tell, than to have her Majesty clear from conclusions in this matter every way, and so did you all assure me, else had I never taken it as I did, which, when I found her Majesty no way bound, nor tied by my doing, and, by the acceptance of this place, I might so greatly, as I have indeed, advanced her service (if it be so considered) and withal help this country from the present imminent danger it stood in, made me the more willing to deal as I have done, and to adventure, *upon that assurance you gave to satisfy her Majesty*; but I see not that *you have done any thing*; specially I acquainting you with all my commissions and instructions before, and did not hide from you the doubt I had of her Majesty's ill taking it, except you did thoroughly make her know indeed both my care to please her Majesty before all things in the world, and the cause of her service chiefly, without engaging her any way, caused me to yield to your persuasions here. Therefore I conclude, *charging you with your conscience how you do deal now with me*; seeing *you chiefly brought me into it*, and to suffer me to rest misjudged of her Majesty, which could no way have been heavy to you, though you had told the uttermost of your own doing, as you faithfully promised me you would,

It is done.

Hereof let the world judge.

Non causa pro causa.

You might doubt it, but if you had uttered so much, you should have employed some other in the journey, which I had no reason to affect much, foreseeing well enough how thankless it would be.

So let it be, so the rules of truth and justice be kept.

would, and rather than her Majesty should misconceive of me, you would let her know the *whole truth indeed*, for that I did *very unwillingly come to the matter*, doubting that to fall out that is come to pass, more *through lack of good and substantial* making her Majesty truly understand the case, than for any offence in reason committed. And all this lost and falls out *by your negligent carelessness*, whereof I *many hundred times told you of, that you would both mar the goodness of the matter, and breed me her Majesty's displeasure.* But *howsoever it fall out, she shall know all my reasons*, and Mr. Henneage I trust will his knowledge, and then refer all to God and her Majesty. Thus fare ye well, and except your embassages have better success, I shall have no great cause to commend them. In some haste. At Harlem this 10th of March, 1585-6.

Your loving friend,

R. LEYCESTER.

The

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The answer of the Council of State to the Queen of England's letter of the 13th of February 1585.

THEY are very sorry her Majesty is offended with the election of the Earl of Leicester, to be absolute Governor; they confess her to have just cause of displeasure, but yet hope when her Majesty is thoroughly informed of all the matter, she will then rest better satisfied of their proceedings. The authority is given him no otherwise, than it was to other Governors heretofore: the words, although they be absolute, yet in their use there, the meaning is no other, than to give unto the said Earl full power to execute the contents of his commission, with reservation of sovereignty and property of the country to the people, which commission cannot without danger be called back again; and therefore they most humbly beseech her Majesty to allow of their doings therein, which are agreeable to her own advice, that the multitude of heads which breed confusion in the government should be avoided, and some course taken for the redress of the same.

1585-6.
March 18th.

Earl of Leicester to the Lords of the Council.

My very good Lords,

ALTHOUGH I do expect her Majesty's good pleasure daily for my revocation hence, yet will I no way in the mean time neglect my duty to my service in the charge committed by her Highness to me, nor leave your good Lords unadvertised what hath past since my last letters; which, as I remember, was from Harlem, upon the arrival of Sir Thomas Henneage, before whose coming I had determined this journey to Utrecht, and was onward so far in my

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March 27th.

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way; and, for that Sir Thomas Henneage would not proceed with any resolution here with the States, touching his commission, till he had received again her Majesty's pleasure, nor yet thought good I should stay my journey, because it was of very great consequence, and the assembly of all our soldiers that may be spared out of the garrison, as well horse as foot, appointed here by a certain day, I did follow the former determination accordingly; the rather being commanded by her Majesty to take my direction from Sir Thomas Henneage, who in any wise wished me to proceed on, till I should hear again from her Majesty. So I went to Amsterdam, and there remained four or five days, and from thence hither to Utrecht, where I am taking order for the present service now to be set forth, which is for the relief of a town called Grave, a place of very great importance. We have other places to deal in like sort with, as also to draw the enemy's force out of Brabant and Flanders hitherward, which it is like they will, for the defence of such forts as they have left guarded, and by which indeed they do besiege Grave, albeit they have laid no battery to it; for there be five sconces that they built about it before I arrived here, yet have I, by stealth, intelligence from thence, and upon some good opportunity, have caused it to be both victualled, and three hundred men put into it, notwithstanding their sconces. And now I hope it shall be fully relieved, I have sent the horsemen already onward, being 1500 very strong. The footmen are also marching to the rendezvous, and will be there to-morrow night all of them; being driven to separate them for a time; and till the service of Grave be past, our horsemen lie at a village called Nycarck, and our footmen at Amaron. Now I am most earnestly to recommend to your good Lordships the needful estate of the captains and soldiers here. I have been driven to borrow for their relief, and for this journey to help them, 4000*l.* of the merchants of Middleburgh. And what I have disbursed of mine own purse is not unknown here, I think, to all men. I would, the full

estate of the disbursing of her Majesty's treasure heretofore were certainly known to your Lordships. I wish it for sundry respects, but it will require a very skilful man to examine it; her Majesty cannot lose by it, &c. and it would be a very good satisfaction to me. And thus praying the Almighty God to preserve all your good Lordships, do take my leave. At Utrecht this 27th of March.

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Your good Lordships always to command,

R. LEYCESTER.

Extract of my Lord of Leiceſter's Letter of the 5th of April 1586.

PRACTICES from hence to discredit his Lordship there.

It is greatly wondered at, that he receiveth no letters from her Majesty, nor supply of men and money, so as men begin to doubt of her Majesty's purpose in the action.

The States wonted affection somewhat altered, who of late begin to deal in strange sort.

A general mutiny likely to have followed by practice among the English soldiers*.

The States follow her Majesty's example in being strait laced.

Speeches given out that her Majesty hearkeneth after a peace.

Janſey taken.

Grave likely to be relieved.

* Probably that was the mutiny at Utrecht in the march to the relief of Grave.

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1586.

March 31st.

Lord Burleigh to the Earl of Leicester.

My very good Lord,

ALTHOUGH of late many crosses and storms have happened to trouble your Lordship's mind, to the hindrance of the common utility of the service of God, and of her Majesty in that country; yet since your conscience doth testify and warrant your doings to have been meant for the furtherance of the weal thereof, and the successes also, excepting the thwarts from hence, do make good proof that your actions do prosper; I wish your Lordship to continue your disposition, and to comfort yourself with your own integrity, which God will not have oppressed, though he may exercise your patience, and prove the fortitude of your mind, to continue well-doing, and suffer reproof for a time. Thus much for a small preface. And now to the matter; I doubt not but this bearer shall come with some better satisfaction, both for yourself and for the cause, than the enemies thereof have looked for. Since M. Vavasor came, we here, that meant well both to yourself and to the cause, found daily little comfort, and yet surely your friends here did not omit any opportunity; but, upon such conference as I had with them, of the doubtful state of that country, I, in presence of Mr. Secretary, used some boldness with her Majesty, and protested to her as a Counsellor, I could not forbear to let her know, that this course that she held against your Lordship was like to endanger her, in honour, surety, and profit; and that, if she continued the same, I prayed her Majesty that I might be discharged of the place I held, and, both afore God and men, be free from the shame and peril that I saw could not be avoided. I used boldly such bold language in this matter, as I found her doubtful whether to charge me with presumption, which partly she did, or with some astonishment of my round speech, which truly

was

was no other than my conscience did move me, even in *amaritudine anime*. And then her Majesty began to be more calm than before, and, as I conceived, readier to qualify her displeasure, and her opinion. And so finding Sir Thomas Shirley ready to write about three days past, I willed him to advertise your Lordship that I doubted not but that matters would not continue in that evil state they were; and so, as he can tell you, he did write, but staid the sending thereof one day, in which time, to my great grief, looking for so good resolution, I, and Mr. Secretary, found her gone backward, as one that had been by some adverse counsel seduced, to think that all should do well in those countries, though your Lordship were displaced. And so he with grief staid his writing. But yet I did not thus leave the matter; and so yesterday Mr. Secretary and I adventured very boldly to declare our censures of peril to come, which no counsel nor action should recover. And hereupon we obtained a favourable answer, though not to our full liking, but yet such as she commanded to put in writing, and so we were therein occupied. And then, unlooked for, came a letter from your Lordship to Mr. Vice Chamberlain, wherewith he made her Majesty acquainted, and she told him, that she had declared her resolution to Mr. Secretary and me, and so willed him to come to my chamber, and so he did, and there we finding some new occasion to seek a better resolution of her Majesty, we all three went to her Majesty, and there I told her very plainly, that I did see that if she used not speed to content the States, and the people of those countries, she would not only lose them, but her honour in the world, and she should find certainly as great danger from those countries, as she had looked for comfort. Herewith, she was greatly troubled, and so, being thereunto moved, she assented to do any thing that she might with her honour.

In fine, we moved her to assent, that your Lordship should continue your office for some time, until the state of the matter might be better considered by her. And so letters were appointed to be speedily

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speedily written, both to your Lordship and the Council of the States, and that Mr. Shirley might be sent away with all speed; and when the letters were ready written, came Pointz from Mr. Henneage, with letters from your Lordship to me, including a letter to her Majesty, which I speedily delivered with such good speeches as in honesty became me, for your excuse. She read your letter; and, in very truth, I found her princely heart touched with favourable interpretation of your actions, affirming them only offensive to her, in that she was not made privy, not now misliking that you had the authority. Surely I had cause, and so I did commend her princely nature, in this sort, of allowing both of you for your good intention, and excusing you of any spot of evil meaning. And having her Majesty in this sort calmed, though it was not possible to make your Lordship amends, yet I thought good to hasten her resolution, which your Lordship must now take to come from a favourable good Mistress; for so truly she doth profess. And you must strive with your nature to throw over your shoulders that which is past. Thus your Lordship seeth I have been somewhat long to show you the course to bring this honest gentleman, Sir Thomas Shirley, to this message, who surely hath very honestly behaved himself for your Lordship. And truly so hath Mr. Vice Chamberlain *, and Mr. Secretary, and bidden many strange speeches. And now I will write no more hereof, but of some other particular advices, the consideration whereof I leave to your Lordship as leisure may serve you.

My Lord, until the state of the Queen's army, by muster book, and her monthly charges, may appear more clear, here will be no further means for any more money. At this present there is paid 24,000*l.* and that, added to her Majesty's former charge of 52,000, maketh 76,000, which sum her Majesty doth often repeat with great offence.

My Lord, I am very glad to see a disposition of sending some ships from thence, to impeach the Spanish King, towards his Indies. It is

* Sir Christopher Hatton.

a matter

a matter that many years past I did project to the Prince of Orange's Ministers, to have been attempted. We hear that Sir Francis Drake is a fearful man to the King, and that the King could have been content that Sir Francis had taken the last year's fleet, so as he had not gone forward to his Indies. We hear that he hath taken seven rich ships on the coast of the Indies. I wish they were safe in the Thames.

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We are here troubled to understand, that from Hamburg and Dantzick, Lubeck, &c. there are a great number of hulks laden for Spain, and do mean to pass about Scotland and Ireland, as some of them did this last year, which they do to avoid all stays in our narrow seas. I would to God your fleet, now intended from those countries, could make a good prize of them; for so should the King of Spain be unable to defend his seas, or to offend any other.

My Lord, where you write to me of that you hear of Champigny's errands, I will tell you what I know thereof; and what else is known to any other, I cannot write of. There is an Italian merchant in Antwerp that pretendeth acquaintance with Champigny, and he hath written hither to another merchant, to know whether her Majesty can be content to come to peace with the King of Spain. The answer is made, that, by the publication published, it is to be seen, wherefore her Majesty hath sent her forces into the Low Countries. And, if the King of Spain shall satisfy her Majesty in honour, according to her protestation, by restoring to those countries liberty and peace, and to remove all men of war from thence, and restore to her own subjects their losses, she can be content to hear any honourable offer from the King; and otherwise she mindeth to persist in defence of her neighbours, and recovery of her subjects losses. This answer is made by words only, but not from her Majesty; and whether Champigny will any farther proceed I know not; but sure I am, he hath no cause to make any vaunt hereof. And I trust their

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need shall make them sooner yield, than any cause to come of this answer.

It may be, that there are other like motions made to her Majesty; but I think surely her Majesty mindeth not to show any yielding. For, God be thanked, she hath not cause, but to expect the yielding to come from the King of Spain and his Ministers.

And where your Lordship writeth that the coming of my son from Brill in this time, may breed some doubts in men's conceits. Surely, my Lord, Sir Thomas Shirley can tell you, that, upon his report of his sickness, with danger not to recover without changing the air to come into England, the Queen's Majesty hearing thereof, without any motion of me, commanded Mr. Secretary to send him her licence, with all possible speed; and, as I understand from himself, he is much injured with the noisomeness of the place, where the water is not only brackish, but, being heated on the fire, it stinketh.

He also findeth the town in a manner utterly unfurnished of ordnance, and without powder and bullets, so as, in very truth, it was as good out of her Majesty's hands, by reason of the charge, as to have it only in a name. But how this should be remedied I know not, for her Majesty will not yield to any more charge, and I see the States unwilling to pay that which they owe. And by a clause in the treaty, they are bound to furnish both the towns of Flushing and Brill, upon your Lordship's demand, as her Majesty's Governor General; and if there be any hope further, it must proceed from your Lordship as Governor of the Provinces, with the Council of the States. I think Sir Philip Sidney hath also some want of ordnance, but nothing like to that of the Brill, where there are not above seven pieces, few enough for one bulwark: but the danger is not to be feared, as long as your Lordship shall prosper in government. My son also brought thither two hundred footmen and fifty horse, but he could never get a penny for them, nor one penny to that garrison since he had the charge; and yet it may be, that he hath had some

some help of late; for the treasurer did write that your Lordship gave him order to help them with some money. I am now in doubt to write any further, for troubling of your Lordship, knowing how infinite your occasions be to write, and to read, beside continual actions.

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By such letters as shall come from her Majesty, you shall find as much comfort from her Majesty, as you have received discomfort, though there be great differences in the effect; for the former I know hath deeply wounded your heart; and these cannot suddenly sink so low as the wound is; but your Lordship must add to this your own fortitude of mind. And so I most heartily wish you to be strengthened by God's special grace,

Your Lordship's most assuredly,

31 Martii 1586.

W. BURGHLEY.*

* This resolute friendly behaviour of the old treasurer towards his rival Leicester during the Queen's displeasure, does him great honour; and strange it is, that Camden passes it over in silence; but indeed that historian's omissions are very unpardonable, considering the lights he had.

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No. XIX.

From the
Originals in
the Cotton
Library.

Letters from Sir Philip Sidney, the Earl of Leicester.

[The Editor has several letters of Sir Philip Sidney; but these two may serve as a specimen. Had he lived, his uncle Leicester would, probably, have been more successful in his government.

It is singular, that, amongst the different *Eloges* made upon him after his death, King James's verses are the most elegant: They are worthy of a scholar of Buchanan.]

Sir Philip Sidney to Lord Leicester.

Right honourable, my singular good Lord,

1586.
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MY intent I have imparted to Mr. Luty at large, to deliver to your Excellency. Now I am only to beseech your Excellency, and if I may prevail with your Excellency, to persuade you, that, if the journey into Friseland be but upon such general grounds, as they were when I came away, which may as easily be done hereafter as now, that it will please you to send forces to the besieging of Steenberg, with 1200 of your footmen, besides them that these quarters may spare, and 300 of your horse, with them hereabout. I will undertake, upon my life, either to ruin it, or to make the enemy raise his siege from Grave; or, which I most hope, both. And it shall be done in the sight of the world, which is most honourable and profitable. For these matters of practices, I assure your Excellency, they are dainty in respect to their doubleness, which almost ever fails in them, and of the many impediments that fall in them, that, if notable reasons guide not, or some worthy person answer not for it, they are better omitted than attempted. Breda, undoubtedly,

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doubtedly, at least I think so, was but a trap; for our poor Englishmen might have been suffered to take a place which they would never have striven to put them out of, till they might have cut both them and us to pieces, who should come to seize it. But, as for Graveline, I will never stir till I have La Motte himself, or some principal officer of his, in hand. Therefore, if it please your Excellency to let old Tutty and Read, with Sir William Stanley and Sir William Ruffel, with 200 horse come hither, I doubt not but to send you honourable and comfortable news of it; for I have good understanding thereof by this shew I made: and I know what the enemy can do shall not serve. If this may be done, 500 pioneers with munition and victuals according, must be got; and, if God will, I will do you honour in it. It grieves me very much, the soldiers are so hardly dealt with in your first beginning of government, not only in their pay, but in taking booties from them, as by your Excellency's letters I find. When soldiers grow to despair, and give up towns, then it is late to buy that with hundred thousands, which might have been saved with a trifle. I think to write a French letter to your Excellency, because your Excellency wrote to me in that language, which, if you please, may be shown to your Council; for, by my troth, they are even in their old train, and may do that safely under your colour now, which, before, they did the more sparingly, for fear of hatred. I humbly beseech your Excellency, that Morbais may find himself comforted for this service he hath done upon one of the best captains the Prince of Parma had. I am now departing towards Flushing, and the tide calls me away. I will therefore most humbly kiss your hands, and refer the rest to the next, praying God to prosper your Excellency as I doubt not he will, and so humbly take my leave. At Berghen.

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient,

PH. SIDNEY.

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The Same to the Same.

1586.
February 2d.

Right Honourable, my singular good Lord,

I HAVE sent this bearer, my Cornet, to your Excellency, whom I do most humbly beseech you to dispatch again unto me, because it stands me much upon, to know what I shall resolve on; because my charges, divers ways, and particularly my horsemen, grow greater than I am able to go through withal. I had, of the Count Hollock, a patent for them of Somerdyke, to lodge me a number of horse, till my company were sufficient to be mustered; there some of them were, and now they have gotten, upon what cause I know not, an act from your Excellency to be free from any. Whereupon, so courteously these boors dealt, as to arrest my horses, the very day that I had sent for them, thinking truly I should have have occasion to have ventured my life; and would not release them till I had paid them two hundred florins for the charges, as they pretended. I humbly beseech your Excellency, because I know my Lieutenant hath been at the sea side almost this month, to my great expence, that I may have either a quarter assigned me, or else that to this place they may bring such provision as the increasing of the number will require; for else, I being not to demand pay till they be mustered, nor to be mustered till my number be complete, it will be too heavy a burden for me to bear, who, I protest to your Excellency, am so far from desiring gain, that I am willing to spend all that I can make; only, my care is, that I may be able to go through with it, to your honour and service, as I hope in God I shall.

For these men, they are of the richest of these parts, and never touched with the war; but so do the rich still put off all matters, by sending to some friend or other of theirs in the Council, that may lighten them to burden others. I humbly beseech your Excellency my Cornet may return with such resolution as I may either go through,

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through, or give over my Cornet. For my part, I hope, and am almost assured, to do you good service, and my heart burneth to do it, if only my ability do not fail me in the way. For Roger Williams also, I would it would please your Excellency to dispatch his Sergeant-majorship universally over all horsemen; and, in that nature, you may better allow him some good pension, than by being only over the English; and so also for his Cornet, the gentleman deserves much.

Herewith I will no further trouble your Excellency, but humbly take my leave, and pray to God for your long and prosperous life and victory. At Berghen.

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient nephew,

PH. SIDNEY.

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No. XX.

From the
originals in
the Cotton
library.

Papers about a private Treaty with Spain.

[Lord Burleigh, as the pacific Minister, was the conductor of this private treaty, to which Walsingham and Leicester were extremely averse. They appear, in this instance, to have judged better, and to have seen further into the designs of Spain than the wise Treasurer. However, it may be suggested, that Burleigh acted in this business rather in compliance with the Queen's humour, than his own opinion. In all his letters he appears very zealous for the common cause against Spain, and the League.

From the papers which the Editor has collected, Walsingham does not seem to have had that weight in the Queen's cabinet, which his abilities and fidelity deserved. The poverty in which he died is a reproach to the memory of his Mistress; if not to that of her Lord Treasurer.]

Lord Burleigh to Andreas de Loo.*

Signior Andreas,

IT is requisite for the matter of this intended treaty, that by frequent advertisements you should as well be acquainted with our proceedings, or with our stays, as you do diligently by your letters advertise us of your conceits and expectations there. And therefore, it is her Majesty's express commandment, that I should advertise you of her mind, and so also to answer your letters. There are come hither, since my last letters written from hence the last of August, and first of September, reckoning according to the old stile, two several packets from you, the first, of the 26th of August, dated at Brussels,

* A Flemish agent of the Duke of Parma.

which

which came whilst I was absent from the court, having gone to my house at Theobalds the 2d of September. The second of your's, was of the last of August, written also from Brussels, which came also about the 9th of this month in my absence, for I came not until the 11th. All which your letters being brought to Mr. Comptroller, were seen by her Majesty, and yet by her sent to me, and therewith I was commanded to come to the court; and upon conference with her Majesty upon your letters, she seemed in some sort sorry to see you troubled with the conceit you had of the long delays of the coming of our Commissioners thither; considering that, although indeed their coming may seem to you to be more delayed than were meet, yet, in very truth, the cause thereof proceedeth not of any disposition of her Majesty to have the same deferred, not so much as for one day, but that the cause proceedeth of lack of resolutions and answers, from my Lord Leicester, who hath had charge a good time past to have induced the States to like of her Majesty's intention for treaty of peace, both for herself with the King of Spain, and also to procure a universal peace in those Low Countries; without which, you well know, that her Majesty can make no account of long continuance of any peace that shall be made betwixt her Majesty and the King of Spain; neither can there be any certainty of the intercourse for the subjects of this realm and those of the Low Countries and the house of Burgundy, and this reason is of such force as no man can deny, but that the intercourse for Prince's subjects, is the proper, and almost the only fruit of peace betwixt Kings; and without it, the private amity and friendship betwixt Princes for their own persons, doth small good; otherwise than that thereby they may appear in the sight of God void of malice. But to enlarge this argument needeth not, for you know the effect thereof. And although, by your letters of the last of August, you seem fearful lest the Duke of Parma, and the King's Counsellors there, should conceive sinisterly of this delay, as though her Majesty might mean to

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abuse the Duke, yet her Majesty hopeth that my letters written from hence, the same day that yours were written from thence, being come to your hands long before this, have satisfied both your own fear, and altered a conceit of the Duke, if he had so conceived any thing amiss of her Majesty for this delay. For by thosè my letters I did, by her Majesty's commandment, advertise you, according to the very truth of the whole matter, how my Lord Leicester had, by her Majesty's commandment, proceeded there, and what difficulties he found there to persuade the States and people, to allow of her Majesty's intention to obtain a peace for them. And that her Majesty expected daily to hear of some better success therein, by the travail of the said Earl, who did show himself as willing to have a good peace made, for her Majesty's satisfaction, as the Duke of Parma had showed his disposition. So as at the time of my said letters, we did look to have had some good answer, tending to the acceleration of this treaty, within a short time. And so her Majesty hopeth that, if you have acquainted the Duke, with the contents of my said letters, he should rest satisfied for any sinister conceit of her Majesty. But now I think it needful to advertise you, how the case presently standeth, that the Duke knowing the truth of the state thereof, you well see that the delay of the coming of our Commissioners proceedeth not of her Majesty, the same being in very truth greatly disliked of her Majesty, so as she presently omitteth nothing in her power to further it. For, in very truth, my Lord of Derby, who had been lately sick in his own country, came hither on Saturday last, the rest of our commissioners being, afore that, ready to take their journey, and their commissions made ready. And now even on the same Saturday, came my Lord of Leicester's Secretary, Mr. Atye, from the Earl, hither, with letters to her Majesty, declaring in what earnest fort my Lord of Leicester had travailed with the States to induce them to allow of her Majesty's purpose; but altogether to a mischievous contrary course, there was a seditious practice used in those countries, by a most false invented untruth, to put into all the people's

people's heads, that her Majesty had already made a secret conclusion of peace for herself, with the King of Spain, and that the safe-conduct sent hither from the Duke of Parma (whereof the copies were common amongst them), was only to warrant the coming of the Queen's Commissioners to confirm the same peace, and not to treat thereof. To this false and seditious report, was added, that my Lord of Leicester was directed from her Majesty, to get into his possession as many towns as he could, with intention to deliver them to the Duke of Parma, upon payment to be made to her Majesty of her Majesty's charges of all her aid given to the States of the country. And hereupon the Earl of Leicester knowing these reports to be false, and yet finding how, by sundry practices, both many of the States, and a great number of the people, have been seduced to believe the same, he hath been greatly troubled, and used no small labours to stay these false reports, and to make it manifest, specially to the Council of State, and to the States themselves, how falsely these reports have been invented and spread abroad. And herein hath his Lordship been occupied from day to day, this long time, and as he writeth to her Majesty, he hath so prevailed with some principal persons, that are lovers of their country, and do desire peace, as he hopeth to overcome this wicked attempt, being the worst of some such as care not for the public weal of their country, so they may continue their private authority and profit, which by peace, and without the war, they cannot have. And to the end it shall not be thought that these things are alledged by the Earl of purpose to prolong time for some other purpose, I am sure that the Duke of Parma cannot be ignorant, if it shall please him to cause such as serveth him for intelligence amongst the States, and the towns of Holland and Zealand, to inform him, as I am sure he hath no lack thereof, but that he shall be largely advertised hereof, and perchance more largely, inasmuch, for this false opinion conceived against the Earl, there hath been great controversy betwixt the States and the

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Earl, they opposing themselves against his authority, and maintaining both the Counts Maurice and Hohenloe, to withstand the placing of any Englishmen in any of the towns where they have credit. Surmising to the towns that the Earl of Leicester hath instructions from her Majesty, to get into his hands all the towns that he can, to deliver them to the Duke of Parma, according to the conclusion which they say is already secretly made for a peace between her Majesty and the King of Spain. And where the Earl hath, by his letters and messages to divers towns, declared these reports to be merely false, there was one of the States named Barnevelt, that went to certain assemblies, and most impudently declared these to be true, and that he had seen the copies of the Queen's Majesty's letters to the Earl, containing that she had made peace already, though secretly, and therefore the Earl should, upon colour of continuing succours to them, put into their towns English forces, so as the same towns might be delivered to the King of Spain, upon payment of her charges, according to her secret covenant. Of this Barnevelt's seditious, malicious, and false dealings, the Earl hath complained to the States, and hath required that he might be charged to show forth those letters, that he feigneth himself to have seen. And so the Earl, at the time of Mr. Aty's coming from thence, which was about the 2d of September, hoped, by the discovery of this false treacherous practice of Barnevelt, and of his condemnation afore the States, that he shall shortly after this mischievous course practised against the weal of the country, and against her Majesty's blessed purpose, to bring the whole country to an universal peace. And so we now hope shortly to hear of good success of the Earl's travail with them, which being certified to her Majesty, I can assure you, the Commissioners being in full readiness, shall not stay one day longer than shall be needful. By this my large writing you may well perceive in what plain sort I do deal with you, to the intent that if you should find any scruple to remain in the Duke's mind, notwithstanding those reasons

reasons that you had to declare to his Highness, by my letters of the last of August, you might, with the largeness of this my letter, stay him from any doubt of her Majesty's sincerity. And so to continue his purposes rather to make peace, than to follow any further provisions for increase of hostile actions. As in truth we hear so much thereof by the works at Antwerp, about maritime matters, and of the daily assemblies and calling together of mariners and shipwrights to Dunkirk, Newport, and Graveling, out of France and other places, besides his messengers sent into Germany and Italy, to haste the new forces from thence, so might these things in very truth move her Majesty to doubt, that in the end, though our Commissioners should come thither, and treat of peace, yet there should be devices used to break off the treaty, and so in a sort to take her Majesty and the Low Countries unprovided. But notwithstanding these likely conjectures to move doubts, her Majesty mindeth to continue her godly purpose to contract a peace, if she may have it with reasonable conditions for her surety, and the universal weal of all those Low Countries, the Provinces United; a matter not to be neglected by her Majesty for many respects, maintainable both afore God and the world. I pray you remember to send answer to the points of my last letters of August, concerning a new safe-conduct, with a general clause for such as her Majesty may chance to change before their coming thither, if any that are already named should fall sick, afore they should be sent from hence. And also concerning the commission by which the King of Spain's Commissioners shall treat; whether it shall not be in the King's name, as reason requireth? Likewise remember the other points contained in a later letter, dated *primo* September, sent with the other of the last of August, for a safe-conduct to be sent from the Duke of Parma to Embden, for the King of Denmark's Ambassador. And in penning the new safe-conduct, it is required for ours, to omit in the same, a certain sentence, breeding a scruple in her Majesty, as though this matter for peace had been originally fought by her Majesty,

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contrary to the truth of the proceeding, as yourself doth well know.

And so I wish you to enjoy the end of your long labour, wherein no small numbers are to be partners with you, whereof I will account myself to be one, that shall hope of more rest by peace, than I have of long time felt by these troubles.

Earl of Leicester to Lord Burleigh.

September
30.

My Lord,

I WILL trouble you at this time the less, for that I hope before this long, your Lordship hath understood at large my whole proceedings here, as also how the state of things stood at the departure of my Lord North and Mr. Beale. Then do I trust her Majesty is better satisfied for my honest service done for her, than appears by the letters to me she doth conceive. God and my conscience doth know, that I have done her Majesty careful and true service, and she doth blame me (when she shall understand all her own commandments to me, as Mr. Beale hath them), without my due desert. For, touching the peace, it shall appear, before I had any direct warrant from her Majesty, I did take a course with the Council of State (for the States General came not to me in fifteen days after I arrived), to make them know, that her Majesty should have just cause to deal for a peace, for I saw they were not able to maintain war. I laid all her Majesty's great and infinite charges afore them, and so did I both more largely, and more earnestly when the States came to me. Then immediately fell out the false slander of her Majesty's contracting and dealing with the Duke of Parma, without their knowledge. Yet before that, as Mr. Beale can tell, I sent Bardefius into Holland, to declare to the States, that I found their dealings so strange, as I, finding her Majesty many ways pressed from the King of Spain, to
hearken

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hearken to a peace, which she would not do all this while in respect of them, but to make them first acquainted withal, and would, I knew, offer first to join and deal with them, before she would make any resolution for herself; therefore I wished them, their estate appearing to be so weak as it was, whereof I must advertise her Majesty, that they would take such a course as both her Majesty and they might jointly enjoy a peace, to avoid their insupportable charge, and loss of so many people as daily were lost by the wars. This message was grievously taken, and they did send Bardefius back with a most lamentable answer, testifying their utter undoing if her Majesty should take that course; and the poor man, upon his knees, in the presence of the Council, desired me to be a mean to persuade her Majesty to stay some time longer, to see what means the States could find to satisfy her otherwise. That he durst not declare my message to all the States, but to two or three of the wisest, who returned him in that sort. And that he would go back again to press them to look better about them, confessing her Majesty had reason to take some such course: but he hoped, the cause had moved her to do that good she had done, and if she should alter from it, they were all undone. All this while had not I received any such letters from her Majesty to will me directly to move the matter of peace, as now I find she takes it. But within two days after this dealing last with Bardefius, there came a letter signed by her Majesty, to deal with the States for the peace, finding them not able to maintain their war. Your Lordship may see, that before this letter, which was the most absolute of all, I had dealt to the same effect, but because Bardefius had not done my message to the whole States as I willed him, I sent Mening and Valke to them, with more plain instructions, as may appear by their own declaration. In which meantime, grew forth these false lewd bruits of her Majesty's dealing, and that I had both private instructions and letters from her Majesty, to treat a peace, either by fair means, or by force, and that my seeking the absolute govern-

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government at this time, was only to have power in my hands, if they refused her Majesty's offers, then to compel them. This matter was presently published to all quarters, as I then advertised her Majesty, and some of your Lordships, whereupon it behoved me to deal carefully for the satisfying the world in honour of her Majesty's dealing in this matter, and thought at that time the course both honourable and convenient which I took, for satisfaction of all men, as no doubt it hath proved, and yet no whit hindered her proceeding to peace, if it pleased her, but with more honour every way. Now touching my commission to have done this sooner, it must rest upon my instructions, and upon her Majesty's present directions by her letters; if it shall not appear by Mr. Beale's declaration, that I have observed both, let me receive blame, and shame too; as, in the letter her Majesty hath written to the States, I must receive shame; for in the beginning it is set down, that I was straitly commanded by her Majesty to make the overture to them, at my first arrival, and that she wonders how I can answer it. First, my Lord, let it be considered when I came away, whether any such intention was meant, or not. If it be said it was, why was my Lord of Buckhurst's proceeding so far therein disliked by her Majesty, and us all then; and why might not his proceeding therein have served, without my going over for the same also? Beside, to what end was there 5000 men sent more over with me, after the dislike had of his dealing? Was it, to be at such charge, either for her Majesty's self or the States, to come over to make immediately this overture of peace? Why was the increase of her Majesty's part set down to 30,000*l.* if I would have strained my instructions, but to 50,000*l.* by my Lord Buckhurst's offer before it was, and the States to augment their part to a 100,000*l.* to levy an army for the field? Was all this that I should immediately move the peace? A matter which not only myself delivered from them to her Majesty, at my return into England, but the Commissioners themselves in England affirmed

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ed the same, both to your Lordships and to her Majesty also. By my Lord of Buckhurst likewise it appeared, how far they were off, and what danger it was likely to breed to this Estate, they moving thereof in such sort as her Majesty did seem to surcease that course, and to encourage them immediately, caused my going with a contrary show, to comfort and animate them here all I could: so that I trust, these things called to remembrance, it will not be thought that I was presently to make this overture; neither would I have taken that office upon me, as I am sure your Lordship, and others my Lords can remember, not for a 100,000 l.; her Majesty's displeasure set aside. But, my Lord, as I take it, it was both her Majesty's pleasure, and all your resolutions at that time, for my going, to be first to reduce the State to the former course it was in, being then much altered, and drawn into faction, as indeed it was, and is; that, that being done, which it pleased you all to conceive then, was not like to be, without my own being here, with her Majesty's thorough favour and countenance; and that if I could do that, whereby her Majesty's party might be the stronger, and the enemy thereby the more greedy and desirous to seek a good peace in time, and that by the show of a strong war between her Majesty and them, the enemy was like to come to the better conditions. And that these things being brought to pass, the country first settled, and a strong preparation in the field against the enemy, I should then take occasion to persuade these people to hearken to a treaty of peace, and if they would refuse so godly, and so reasonable a matter, that her Majesty might and would use her own wisdom for her own affairs, &c. Or if, after my arrival, I should, after all proofs and trials made, find these men obstinate, and withal unable to bear out the charge of the war hereafter, and not pay such debts as were due both to her Majesty, and to her people in their pay, as also pay for the charge of these last numbers brought over by me, that then also, I should not only move the matter of peace, but also, if they seemed to refuse her offer, that

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that I should let them know, that she will not be at any further charge here, for their causes. This, as far as ever I could conceive, was her Majesty's and all your Lordships determinations: for better proof, examine my instructions, let her Majesty's letters be seen, the notes of which, concerning that point, I have delivered Mr. Beale, to put her better in mind thereof; and among which, one special matter for my comfort, and leads from this, her Majesty doth promise, as also sent me sundry the like messages, that I should not in this service lack any thing in the world, to further it withal. And if all they agree with that I have done, and that I have not proceeded against these, I trust her Majesty will alter her heavy conceit, as well of my negligence as carelessness in her service. And withal, that it will please her to remember her promise for my abode, which she said earnestly should not be above three months. But now I perceive her Majesty is persuaded that I am here to my own desire, and that it was secretly my own motion to come hither, and to have this place. For that, I will desire no other witnesses, besides what I protested to her Majesty's self, but your Lordship, and all the rest of my good Lords and friends there, whether I ever seemed to desire, or could in reason wish it. First, the absence from her Majesty; next mine own poor estate, in what terms it rested, and doth yet, I think, is made known to you, and others my friends. The hindrance I had by my last journey; the ingratitude I found in the States, and little hope of any good; besides my years, and decay of health, to lose all these by my journey; and the greatest of all, the fear of her Majesty's displeasure, which I got in the last voyage, with the loss, I protest to God, of 25000 l. clear of expences, beside all I received, being before at least 8000 l. in debt, and yet never so near out of debt, since the first year I served. I trust these be reasons for her Majesty not to think I am here at my own liking, for neither do I like the place, nor would have taken it upon me, to have received in gift 40,000 l. but for the persuasion of your Lordships all, and the service

service was thought I only might do here, for her Majesty and the common cause; and this, I take God to record, I speak from my heart according to truth, and even so, I pray you, my good Lord, answer for me, and be a mean, if ever I may requite it, to help me speedily home. And I see no cause of stay, the answer had of these men, but her Majesty sending such one, or appointing one here to take the charge of her army. As for the authority of my government, I have not accepted of it, because I did altogether follow her Majesty's expectation for the peace, and sought to drive as many advantages for her to take her own course by, as I could. And now to hasten their answer, I have sent them her Majesty's mind by Mr. Killegrew, although for my own shame I forbear the delivery of the letter, till I hear again. For truly her Majesty's self shall be as greatly touched as I, for thereby will these froward first beginners of her Majesty's slander take hold to affirm it to be true, as they may, and by the manner of our proceeding hitherto. Her Majesty may deal as she doeth, and yet draw the cause from the States, and so most honourably may she go forward, if as safely, which God grant. For it is wonderful to hear how the States are hated, for giving her Majesty cause thus to deal, for now all blame is laid upon them; and this is also the best and next way for all the people to commit themselves to her Majesty's order, as I believe it will fall out so. Whereas, otherwise, it will hardly be believed there, the great alteration of all men's minds it would make. But all as shall please her Majesty; for my part, I have served her as I would to answer to God for it. I commit your Lordship to God, having no paper left. •

At Utrecht, this 30th September, 1587.

Your Lordship's, &c.

R. LEICESTER.

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Earl

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Earl of Leicester to Lord Burleigh.

October 30.

My very good Lord,

I WAS in good hope that I should have heard out of England, e'er I should have had any cause to write any more than I have done heretofore. But howsoever I am respected, I will not omit my duty in advertising her Majesty and my Lords, how matters pass here in the mean while. The States proceed still, after one sort, for the establishment of their government, as I have already declared. And if these men hold their authority as they do, they will shortly bring their purposes to pass, specially using the matter of peace so greatly to their advantage as they do; whereof I have written both to her Majesty and your Lordship at large. And although it will hardly be believed, but by those that be here present among them, that so holy and honest a cause should be so misliked, yet so doth it fall out now, that the hearts of all men are greatly daunted, and the devices of practising heads hath the more way given them to take effect. And nothing doth argue to me greater cause to mistrust the meanings of these men, than the jolity they make upon this motion of peace, as men glad and contented to have men's minds altered from her Majesty; using all the practices and devices they can, to further it. For they are not ignorant that if her Majesty shall leave them, that they have no Prince to trust or lean unto, and yet do they what they may, to make her Majesty forsake them. For no men can take more dishonourable or spiteful courses, since the motion her Majesty hath made unto them, for so good a matter, than they have done. They have delivered out in the worst sort, and with an interpretation of their own, that her Majesty hath always had no better intention toward them, than to get a peace in the end for herself. That I have been

sent over, this last time chiefly, for that purpose, under colour of my authority and government here; and have secretly, and some ways openly enough, sought to hinder my credit with the people, all they can possibly: whereby they might the more easily settle their government as they would have it. And in truth they have chosen a fit time for it, and have gotten a good ground for them to work on. For the people they persuade one way, that by a peace there is no way but destruction for them, and hereupon they descant upon her Majesty in the highest note, to alienate their hearts. The soldiers they persuade another way, that having peace they must be discharged, and if they will continue their service with them, they will entertain them still, and agree to no peace, whatsoever the Queen of England shall do, who, they assure themselves, will have peace. This is a persuasion your Lordship can consider very substantial, both to hold them with them, and to alter them from her Majesty. Beside, if they had never so good devotion to serve under me, they must now doubt, or rather be out of doubt, that if her Majesty leave them, it is not like that I shall remain among them, or have any authority to do them any good. And therefore, if they should now seem to lean to me for her Majesty's service, it must be too weak a pillar, seeing there is no assurance for any maintenance for them. The like reason must needs fall into the minds of others, that have been, and are well affected, both to the cause and to her Majesty, that if she be minded to treat for peace, and these men do refuse to join with her, it is like she will take offence and leave them; if it so fall out, whom have they to trust unto, or what cause shall they have to stand with me, or to declare openly any affection to her Majesty? They find the States already, how they are bent by the persuasions they use in all places, and what constant protestations they have made of late, specially all those of Holland and Zealand, to go through with this cause, both for religion or their liberty, to the last drop of their blood; whereby they have enchanted many well meaning men,

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who do not look thoroughly into their doings, nor observe diligently their manner of proceeding; for if they did, they would take it, as I am persuaded it is, the Syren's charm. Wherein for my further conceit of their intent, I will refer your Lordship to my letter to Mr. Beale; for being but my own collection, I dare not incense her Majesty, for it may be so different from wiser mens judgments, as I will rather first offer it to their examination and consideration. For if they have no deeper fetches here, than by their present proceedings it appears, there can be no wise man that beholdeth it, but see manifestly they run headlong to their own destruction, and overthrow of religion, liberties and all. The reasons I refer you to Mr. Beale's letter; but if there were no more but these two, they be sufficient; the first is, to reject or neglect the aid of such a Prince as her Majesty is, before they had made all the proffers in the world, to have won, and persuaded her to have compassion on them, as lost people without her, as they will be certainly, without God's miracle. The other is, the small care they have of their conjoined friends and united confederates, as Utrecht, Guelders, Overysse, and Brabant, with whom they mean to deal most hardly and straitly withal, and even to make them desperate, seeing it likely that her Majesty will leave the cause. So that your Lordship may hereby perceive the estate presently, which at more large particularly you shall know by Sir Richard Bingham, whom I mean to send forthwith over, who is a wise and worthy gentleman, and a man of great judgment. And for the alterations here, you may see the cause, being taken only upon the motion of a godly and good matter, to drive honest men to despair, and to take themselves the full sway of their own will, to bring what they will to pass. That the people, and well disposed, are choaked by their persuasions, and discouraged, as they dare not show to her Majesty that, they would gladly have cause to do, nor to me, her Minister, fearing my ability, as indeed they have cause to do.

Therefore,

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Therefore, my Lord, touching this state, there is but one of these ways, either for her Majesty to concur with these mens new plot of government, and yield them her wonted assistance withal, or to withdraw her forces, and break utterly off with them, upon their unthankful and bad dealings with her, beside the altering their government without her knowledge, and using her Lieutenant as they have done; or else to qualify her late motion of the peace, if with her honour she may do it, and to send an Ambassador to persuade the people here, by promise of her favour, and countenance of her longer support, if they be able, upon further conference with them, to show to her Majesty that they be able to hold out the war with sufficient contributions; which, if her Majesty should find this way good, would alter all these confederacies here, as quite as if they had never been, and upon my life, have all these fellows changed that now rule, and do with them what she will. And it had been so done by the people upon my first arrival now, but that craftily they began, by times, to cast out the matter of peace, and the cause of my coming to be for none other, and this they begun with before Sluys was lost; and they knew it would make a stay at least among men, to see what would become of her Majesty's dealing, and mine here in that matter, having good advertisement out of England to maintain their bruit, as I did write both to her Majesty and your Lordships. In which time, as they lost no time, so fell it out, that this motion of peace was prosecuted as you know from her Majesty, which hath greatly confirmed these men, and condemned me much with the people, specially of Holland and Zealand. Nevertheless how careful I have been to discharge my duty towards her Majesty, to stay mens minds, and devotions every where, until her doings shall give just cause to the contrary, I will refer me to all that serve her Majesty here, and do not doubt but your Lordship, and the rest about her there, will have regard of this weighty cause, to think what is like to be the sequel of it, if it quell, as it must needs as the case

stands,

ELIZABETH.
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stands, and as these men proceed with it. For if it were possible for them to hold and maintain a war against the enemy, without her Majesty; for my part I would fear the less any danger to her Majesty or the realm; but seeing it manifest, that without her Majesty's aid, or some such Prince, it is not possible for them to stand, no not any long time, I must needs think that the King of Spain must shortly have them again, in the worst sort, and with greatest peril for her Majesty. The matter is so far carried already, as there can be no long delays for her to use, for such remedy as she shall think meet. I have been told to set you down three ways, for my capacity can think of no other, and they be hard all; wherefore I will refer them, and any other to God, her Majesty, and your Lordship's prudent advices. For I must say it again, these countries once gone, you shall never see the like security for England again. A few here, and a few elsewhere, hath brought all this ill to pass. For my own part, if the loss of my blood and life could advance her Majesty's service, it hath been, and shall be to my last hour ready. And as one of the three ways I speak of, is the way most feared, of all the good sort; so if her Majesty's course should light that way, which is utterly to leave them, all would then fall to present dissolution. And I am greatly deceived if these that would appear to be the only patriots, do not desire that way, before the other. Amongst other things of late, they have, in two or three principal matters, flatly broken the treaty; but of that, and divers other particular doings of theirs, you shall understand more by Sir Richard Bingham, who shall not be long after this, and trust you will help myself to be one of the next after him; the sooner the better, for I have no means to continue me twenty days here. And I see now no service for me to do, except her Majesty take the last way, and it must ask a present charge, as I have also set down to the said Sir Richard Bingham, which I can hardly think of but it were the only sure way, and most honourable way, and the best way to bring a good peace about, though not
so

so hasty and speedy a way, as you are in hand with now; but it is an old saying, the surest way is always the nearest way. God send her Majesty, I beseech him, to take the surest way, though it were the longer and the farther way. And so end, committing your Lordship's health and long life to his safe protection. At Utrecht, going to-morrow to Dort, this 30th of October 1587.

ELIZABETH.
1587.

Your Lordship's, &c.

R. LEICESTER.

Good my Lord bear with my scriblings, for I am many ways troubled, and impeached, even whilst I write.

Earl of Leicester to the Lords of the Council.

My good Lords,

I AM sorry that in respect of my place amongst yourselves, and my hard service here, I can receive no more comfort, or be more regarded than I find hitherto I am. But I am far more grieved to see these weighty causes that toucheth not only the well or ill doing of these countries committed to my charge, but that so deeply concern her Majesty, and the whole realm of England, to be so passed over as they be. As for my own person, I know it worth not much consideration, the more fault on those that have made no better choice; but to lay so great a charge upon a man so little cared for, is not well. For it is hardly seen, that such a charge should go without better countenance, or more credit than I have received, to further this service withal. I trust I have not failed to make known, both to her Majesty and some of your Lordships, from time to time, the state of these countries, and of my charge; but how seldom I have received either her pleasure or direction, I know best, that have so often craved it. Only for the motion of peace, which as

1587.
Nov. 6th.

soon

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soon as I had her Majesty's commandment, I did propound it to the States, and yet was greatly blamed that I had not done it sooner, though without so good warrant as I take it. Yet what care I had to do it, according to such instructions as I had, that might be most to her Majesty's honour, and the safety of the cause here, I refer me to my general declarations, as well to her Majesty's self, as to others, and specially Mr. Beale, who was privy, and acquainted with the whole; but what effect hath followed the alteration of that course, and the want of supply of that, which I did humbly give my advice to her Majesty for, doth now appear; which was, to send over some man of credit, to have dealt with these men at large, and substantially, as well touching their ill dealing with her Majesty, as to proceed with the motion for the treaty of peace, in such sort as might withal retain the hearts and good affections of the people toward her. I did not desire this, for that I was not both willing and ready to do it myself, or any other service her Majesty would command me, but I did truly set down unto her, how unfit I was of all others, to use that kind of service, being so greatly suspected, or rather detracted by the State's dealing as I was, wherein also they did her Majesty no little wrong, in the public reports they made, unto which I thought myself bound in duty to make answer, as I did, and did send it over to your Lordships by Atye. A thing which I am sure gave great satisfaction here to all the better sort, and no hindrance at all to that purpose which her Majesty intended, but very great furtherance, as I can well prove; albeit it was here given out, and brought from England, that her Majesty reprov'd it, saying, that I had absolute commandment to have broken the matter of treaty, upon my first arrival to the States, and did rest in great offence toward me therefore; which opinion yet remains, and is given out by such as would have my credit stand in suspense. But touching this matter, I have both declared to her Majesty by writing, what effect it hath taken, as also by Sir Richard Bingham, who hath been an ear and eye-witness of it. The
matter

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1587.

matter I fear hath not bred more confusion among men here, than it will cause of great trouble ere long to her Majesty, and as also there. For as peace, no doubt, of itself, is a most happy and blessed gift of God to all people on the earth, so yet in these days, all circumstances considered, between such Princes, where so great differences are, specially for the church of God, and the consciences of men, it must be deeply weighed, whether, to defend the enemy by such a war, or be reconciled to him by a dangerous peace, be better. But chiefly to examine the likelihood of the peace thoroughly, before we be too far lulled with the name and hope of it, lest it bewitch us, and bring us to a dangerous and most senseless security. And that we may look very precisely into the charmers, both abroad and at home. For, most assuredly, there be great treasons and treacheries in hand, at this present. And as England hath been long, to her Majesty's great peril, infected with such, so do I greatly fear that they had never greater affinity with these abroad, than at this hour. I have not spared to write my opinion of some in these parts, nor to declare the presumptions I have gathered of some notable revolt here, not in the generality, but by the subtle practice and secret conjuration of a few, that are (no doubt) bought by the King, and they will sell their country. I have, heretofore, described the nature and condition of these men, they be covetous, they be without religion, and the chief of them strangers. They love not the good people of the country, and they know the people doth hate them. For the better confirmation of my conceit, they have made no officers nor magistrates these seven years, but the lewdest and worst disposed persons, both in religion and otherwise, that they can find out. They seek, all ways that may be, to deface all her Majesty's doings to the people, and to withdraw their good minds from her. They show open dislike and hate to our nation, that, with loss of their blood, and long serving them, hath made sufficient proof of their well deserving. Their small account they make of her Majesty's favour and aid to

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1587.

them, which would more flatly appear, but for fear of the people, and yet be they assured that without it they cannot stand; the little or no preparations, indeed, that they make to resist, or annoy the enemy; the appointing such to have the command of their men of war, that are wholly at their devotion, making the colour of it, as though it were done only by the Counts Maurice and Hollock, for private dislike of me, which I know they have no cause at all at my hands to do so; and also their keeping the payment of all foldiers to themselves, and to be the more sure of them; the carelessness for the succour of Sluys, or providing any place beside to resist the enemy; the continual information I have from well-willers on the other side, who affirm certainly, that there be of the States reconciled to the King, and hath offered all service to render the countries again, and to help to drive out the English. These be of the States of Holland, and some of Zealand, I speak of, who do not only impeach all the rest that are well affected, by reason of their credit and their numbers, being the greater, but do what they can to discourage the rest of the provinces united with them: inasmuch as of late they have taken a resolute order, that all their contributions, which is two parts of three, shall go only to the payment of their own garrisons, and defence of their own towns. They have made profit of this motion of peace, as I have told you, to discredit her Majesty if they can, and to disgrace me with the people, that they may the better proceed in their devices and practices. For, in this mean while, is the enemy grown very mighty, both by land and water. He never yet had that strength by much. He hath all preparations ready, as well by water as land, to besiege or attempt any place. He is near 40,000 men for certain. The States prepare yet no resistance; beside they have given it out, that all was for France, till now that they be ready to march. I have sent for as many men as are within my commandment, to furnish Bergen-op-Zoom, a place very like they will seek, which will ask at the least 3000 men; to de-

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fend such a siege as the Prince will make; which if I can see so
 furnished, as may probably be kept, we will defend it, otherwise I
 will deliver it to the States, and save our people, and let them either
 defend it or lose it. And I doubt not we shall have enough to do
 to defend these other towns in her Majesty's charge, if the forces be
 such as I hear, and any of the States traitors, as is to be greatly sus-
 pected. For my part, since you have left me here all this while,
 and all our English forces, which were almost 6000, besides the or-
 dinary, revoked and discharged, I will leave my bones here also, if
 there be any attempt made to this place; and do trust your Lordships
 will consider, what importance it is of for her Majesty, as well for
 her money, as to procure a treaty, and it must be as well defended
 by sea, as by land, or else, if the country revolt, it will surely be put
 in great hazard. For myself, I am at this present, and a good while
 have been less regarded, and worse left than Sir John Norris was.
 For I left him not only all the captains and officers, that were under
 me, both noblemen and others, but 2000 English soldiers in the
 States pay. I am not only left without those I brought, and those
 in the States pay, but all officers discharged, and such able men as
 are fit now, at such a time, to take charge, and give direction. I
 have now staid Sir William Pelham, till I hear from your Lordships,
 whom I had once discharged fully, and Sir William Reid had his
 passport to go over, whom I yet stay also; not doubting but you will
 all have that due care over these countries generally, and these places
 of her Majesty's particularly, that shall be meet for so great and
 faithful Counsellors to her Majesty, and to your country. For my-
 self, it is no time now to complain, or to stand upon mine own
 causes. I am here, as you have known, and may perceive by this
 declaration, with small honour to her Majesty, and less credit to my-
 self. I beseech you now weigh me as a poor man in her service,
 and as but a governor of Flushing or Brill. I would be sorry to be
 lingering on this long, to receive now the dishonour of loss within

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1587.

my charge, of any place of her Majesty's, as I must think them in great danger. But whatsoever shall go, my life shall be lost withal. There be some captains there, I would they were sent over in haste, as Sir Roger Williams, Sir Har. Norris to the Brill, and his brother, whose company is at Ostend. Thus I commend the state of this place specially to your Lordships, that there may be victual in readiness prepared, for we must not trust to these countries help now, and your navy with all speed, for therein will consist our chief surety. And so I commit your Lordships all, to the safe protection of the Almighty. In much haste this 6th of November 1587.

Your Lordship's assured poor friend,

R. LEICESTER.

I will not fail to take the best order I can devise for the defence of this isle of Walckeren, and have sent to the States again, to see their care. Sir William Pelham I sent to Bergen-op-Zoom, to give order there, and look for him this night again. I forgot to move your Lordships also, to have five or six thousand men in readiness, nearest the coast, for all events; and to keep Sir Richard Bingham ready, if need be, that he may return.

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ELIZABETH.
1587.

Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester.

My very good Lord,

IN the midst of my diet I fell into a fever, and since my recovery of the fever, I am troubled greatly with a defluction of an humour into one of mine eyes, which hath been the cause why your Lordship hath not heard from me these many days. I hope your Lordship, considering it groweth from the hand of God, will excuse me.

1587.
October 9th.

I doubt not but that your Lordship is thoroughly acquainted with our Court proceedings, since the return of the Lord North, and my brother Beale. From him, and other your Lordship's honourable friends in Court, I know you are informed, how offensively it is taken, that the matter of peace goeth slowly forward there. It is reported that both Mr. Herbert the Master of the Requests, and Mr. Ortell, shall presently repair over, to deal effectually with the States, for the advancement of the said peace. And it is also said that our Commissioners shall put themselves presently in a readiness to depart into those countries, to the end, that when the States have given their assents to yield to the treaty, there may be no time lost. There is the more haste made in this matter, for that Andreas de Loo doth write, that the Duke of Parma thinketh he is but mocked and dallied withal; and that he doubteth greatly, that, if the Commissioners shall not be presently sent over, the said Duke will break off, and not proceed to the treaty, which we do believe here to be most true; and will, by no means, be persuaded that the King of Spain and the said Duke do but dally with us; so strong a conceit are we grown to have of both their sincerities, contrary to the opinion of all men of judgment, seeing the great preparations made both by sea and land.

Sir

ELIZABETH.
1587.

Sir Edward Stafford hath advertised hither, that the French King hath especially sent unto his agent in Spain, to learn there, whether the King of Spain meant soundly to proceed in this treaty of peace with the Queen, from whom he hath received undoubted answer, that the King doth it only to win time, and to abuse the Queen of England. This, notwithstanding that Mr. Stafford hath gotten it from one of good account about the King, is offensively taken here; so much do we mislike any thing that may hinder the said treaty of peace.

Your Lordship hath done very well to cause Monsieur Averley that came from Monsieur Segure to make report unto me only, of that he had to say; for otherwise great inconveniences might have grown thereby, to the prejudice of the common cause. I think he shall return, without imparting the matter to any other.

Such news as I have received out of France, touching the King of Navarre*, and the Reisters camp†, I send herewith unto your Lordship. And so most humbly take my leave.

From my house in London the 9th of October 1587.

Your Lordship's to command,

FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

* The battle of Coutras was fought the 20th of October.

† The Reisters were overthrown by the Duke of Guise.

Sir

ELIZABETH.
1587.

Sir Francis Walsingham to the Earl of Leicester.

My very good Lord,

ALTHOUGH it hath pleased God to quit of my fever, yet is not my body restored to that state of strength, as that either my hand or head can endure the use of my pen; and therefore I am humbly to pray your Lordship to excuse me, in that I write not with mine own hand. Touching the resolution taken, both for your Lordship's return, and the causes of those countries, since the arrival of Sir Richard Bingham, I can say nothing. I pray God they may fall out to your Lordship's contentment, who hath received as hard measure as ever nobleman, or any other meaner minister, that hath at any time been employed in foreign service. I fear there is not care taken in the manner of your Lordship's revocation, both of her Majesty's honour, and your Lordship's, as appertaineth. But good my Lord, let nothing stay you there (unless some extraordinary cause fall out, as your return may breed such a change there, as may endanger this estate), for your continuance will but work you increase of dishonour and disgrace. A letter from the Duke of Parma to her Majesty, hath bred in her such a dangerous security, as all advertisements of perils and danger are neglected, and great expedition is used in dispatching of the Commissioners, Sir James Crofts * being now appointed to supply Sir John Herbert's place, unto which I fear that, if my sickness had not been the lot, I had been preferred, which would have drawn her Majesty's displeasure upon me, being fully resolved, in no sort, to have accepted thereof, for that I would be loth to be employed in a service, that all men of judgment may see apparently (in respect of the handling of the matter) cannot but work her Majesty's ruin. I pray God, I, and others of my opinion, may prove in this false prophets.

1587.
Nov. 12th.

* Comptroller of the Household.

Scotland

Sir

ELIZA-
BETH.
1587.

Scotland is altogether neglected, from whence all our mischief is like to come, where the employment of 2000 men by the enemy, with some portion of treasure, may more annoy us, than 30,000 men landed in any part of this realm. No one thing more doth prognosticate an alteration of the estate, than that a Prince of her Majesty's judgment, should neglect, in respect of a little charges, the stopping of so dangerous a gap, as that is like to prove. What practices have this last year been set abroad in that realm, tending to the annoyance of this realm, your Lordship, by the enclosed extracts (which I pray you may be reserved unto yourself) shall perceive. Monsieur Junius, sent from the Duke Casimir, is now returned with some weak satisfaction, such as I fear will breed no great contentment; for we have not skill here, neither of timely, nor thorough doing. The manner of our cold and careless proceeding here, in this time of peril and danger, maketh me to take no comfort of my recovery of health, for that I see apparently, unless it shall please God in mercy, and miraculously, to preserve us, we cannot long stand. And so, recommending your Lordship unto his protection, and wishing your speedy return, I most humbly take my leave. From my house in London the 12th of November 1587.

Your Lordship's to command,

FRANCIS WALSHINGHAM.

Sir Richard Bingham doth acknowledge himself greatly bound unto your Lordship for your honourable account of him. For the which he leaveth nothing undone that may express his thankfulness.

No. XXI.

No. XXI.

*Letters from Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward
Stafford, Ambassador at the Court of France.*

ELIZABETH.
1588.
From the
Originals in
the Paper
Office.

[These dispatches are given as specimens of the ordinary correspondence of Secretary Walsingham with the Queen's Ministers abroad. He was once deceived; and that was by the crafty Charles IX. and his more crafty and profligate mother Catherine of Medicis, in 1572. He thought them sincere with regard to the Protestants. It made that impression on him, that he took care never to be over-reached again. He delivered himself up entirely to his business; was so frank as often to displease a Mistress, who, with great qualities, was capricious and dilatory.—This collection shews, what no other gives the least intimation of, that he was sometimes left out of the secret, as in the previous negotiation with the Duke of Parma; and was on the point of resigning.—His connection with Leicester is strongly marked in the letters between them.]

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford.

S I R,

HER Majesty's pleasure is, you shall, at such time as may seem September
8th.
best unto you, repair to the King, and, with some shew of conceived unkindness, declare unto him, that she hath great cause to find herself very much grieved; for that having most constantly embraced and entertained his friendship, and thereof, from time to time, yielded manifest proofs and testimonies; namely, of late, that she sent two ministers of her's, one after another, expressly unto him, to make offer unto him of neighbourly aid and assistance, upon the accident that fell out of the outrage and revolt committed by the Duke of Guise; he seemeth now to yield her a very unkind requital thereof in divers things; among which her Majesty's pleasure is,

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No. XXI.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

you should first make mention of the Galeasse*, which, being entered and won by her subjects, with the loss of their blood, and divers of their lives, she cannot but think it a very hard point, that the strictness of law should so far prevail against good debts, and the respect of professed friendship and good neighbourhood, as that restitution of the ordnance of the same should be made unto the enemy, because the said Galeasse ran on ground within gun-shot of Calais. Adding thereunto also, the strange demeanour towards her, of his subjects of Newhaven, in the road whereof, one of the enemy's vessels of the number of their fleet, being assailed by one of her ships, the Lieutenant of the Town, as her Majesty is informed, making himself in a manner a party against her with the enemy, planted his ordnance upon the sands, and discharged the same upon her said ship. Furthermore, she would have you also take knowledge in her name of a special messenger sent unto the Pope, to sue unto him for a dispensation with his oath taken for observation of the alliance and treaties that have been heretofore passed between both their progenitors; and to let him understand, that if he have any such meaning to break off the said alliance with her, he shall do honourably to make it in plain sort known to her.

Lastly, Her Majesty's pleasure is, you should, to the same purpose, acquaint him with the words printed in the Spanish Ambassador's oration, of his pretended renouncing of her alliance and amity, wherein she conceiveth that he cannot, in honour and due regard of her satisfaction, but justify himself to the world, by some public writing. This do I write by her Majesty's commandment, and yet can I not but advise you, if you see the delivery thereof unto the King, in such sort as the same is set down, will do any harm, to use your discretion; for it is hard here to prescribe what is fit to be done there. It behoveth her Majesty greatly to continue amity with that crown; and therefore it is not convenient that any breach should grow between us upon light quarrels. This intended assembly† at

* A Spanish man of war taken off Calais.

† Of the States,

Blois will discover what is to be looked for from thence. If there were true magnanimity in the French King, I should hope well; but when I look into his weakness, I rather despair than hope.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

Her Majesty findeth it strange, that you should make any doubt touching the matter of the pique and jealousy between the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards, being that the continuance thereof cannot but advance her service; and therefore she would have you, by all means possible, to nourish the same.

We hear, out of the Low Countries, that the said Duke is at Brussels, and hath drawn all his forces up into Brabant, with a purpose, as it is thought, to attempt somewhat against Bergen-op-zoom.

How things do stand in Scotland, you shall perceive by the inclosed copy of a letter from Sir Robert Sidney.

For the Spanish fleet, since the news of their doubling the north side of Scotland, we have not certainly heard of their course, and yet do in reason suppose, that they are, e'er this time, at home. Some report is given out, that they had lost a great number of their ships towards the back side of Ireland in the last storm, and were returned home but forty sail; but we have no sufficient ground to give credit thereto. And so I commit you to God. At St. James's, 8th September, 1588.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford.

S I R,

September
30.

I DO make this dispatch unto you, to let you understand of such advertisements as we have lately received out of Ireland; which it is thought meet to send unto you, to the end you may be able to satisfy such as shall be desirous to know thereof, which cannot be constructed to be delivered of any cunning on our part, considering that they are the confessions and testimonies of our adversaries themselves, and therefore it hath been thought convenient to commit them to the print*. For the particularities I refer you to the printed book. We do look shortly to hear from thence of other ships to fall into the like distress, for the south-west winds have blown so hard, as, in the judgment of our seamen, it hath not been possible for them to return into Spain. It is likewise meant, that within a while, the substance of the whole proceedings of the Spanish navy, and ours, shall be published both in French and Italian †.

Touching that you writ to me in your last letters, if you had authority to put the French King in your would hope to do some good: the Queen hath willed me to let you understand, that she marvelleth you should expect any such commission, considering that, in a matter tending so much to the benefit of her service, you may, without further authority, do all good offices that occasion shall require.

Other matter we have nothing here meet for your knowledge, but that, upon advertisement received, that the Duke of Parma hath brought his forces about Bergen-op-zoom, and drawn the cannon thither, intending to employ his whole power against that place, her Majesty meaning not to give over the honour she hath already

* This is republished in the Harleian Miscellany.

† There were two accounts published by authority, one called a letter to D. B. Mendoza, the other said to be translated from the Italian.

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gotten, hath given order for the sending thither of 1500 men from hence, of her own subjects, and 500 Walloons of the strange churches, which, together with the strength that is already in the town, we hope shall be able to hold the place, and to repulse the Duke.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

From the Court at St. James's, the 30th. of September, 1588.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford.

SIR,

HER Majesty considering how much it importeth the quietness and safety of the Princes of this part of Christendom, to use advantage of the late victory it hath pleased God to give unto her, in the conflict with the Spanish navy, by keeping the King of Spain unable to redress and set up the like forces to disquiet his neighbours withal; as she doth mean for her part to do that, which her means may stretch unto, and occasions shall require; so finding, by experience in these last preparations made by the said King, that without such helps of victuals, munition, and other necessities, as he hath received out of other Princes' dominions, he had never been able to set out the late army, and namely, without great relief of victuals, specially corn, out of divers parts of France; her Highness hath therefore willed me to direct you to move the French King, from her, and in her name, to make such a general restraint, that no corn be transported out of any part of his dominions into Spain. Which as he may take a just colour to do, for the furnishing of his army now ready to march into Poictou*; so do there not

October 19.

* Against the Hugonots.

want:

ELIZABETH.
1588.

want sufficient reasons to induce him to do it, as a matter beneficial as well unto himself as to others, if he shall consider (as he hath been often heretofore put in mind thereof by her Majesty's Ministers, though with little fruit), how those of the League, who have so long disquieted his realm, and so often and insolently done disgrace to his own person, are maintained and supported in their actions by the King of Spain's purse, and without him were not able to subsist. And further, how now of late the Duke of Savoy hath seized the Marquisate of Saluzzes, which it is not to be thought he would have attempted, without assurance of the King of Spain's assistance, in maintaining his said attempt, being no ways of himself able to bear out such an action against a King of France. But if the King shall not be moved by these reasons to yield unto the said restraint, tending as it doth, as well to his own good as to her Majesty's, she shall have cause to think that the King doth not make that account of her friendship that he hath made show of, and as she doth merit, considering the honourable and friendly offers she made unto him, at such time as he was forced to retire out of Paris. Which, as she hath already in part cause to think very evilly requited, in respect of the late speedy delivery of the King of Spain's ordnance, taken in the Galleasse at Calais, and the ship at Newhaven; so, if the King shall refuse her this request, being for the common good, as well of them both as of all Christendom, she shall have a plain proof that he doth neither respect her amity, nor weigh his own estate, and the affairs of Christendom, as appertaineth. And, as a further matter of unkindness, it is thought meet that the King should be let understand, upon some apt occasion to be taken by you, as of yourself, but not by direction, that her Majesty hath reason to take it unkindly, that his Ambassador here, hath had no direction to congratulate the good success she hath had against the Spanish army, as in the like cases is accustomed between Princes being in such terms of amity, as the world taketh them to be.

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Her Majesty's further pleasure is, that you should inquire very carefully, by all such good means and instruments as you shall think meet, to learn how the King of Spain doth take the loss his army hath sustained, as well in the conflict, as otherwise by the hand of God; and whether he carry any disposition to take a revenge thereof, or by what means. As, on the other side, her Highness's meaning is, to use the benefit of the victory, by the employing of Sir John Norris, and Sir Francis Drake, in such sort as this bearer shall declare unto you.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

For the matters of Scotland, Sir Robert Sidney is of late returned, with a very good answer from the King, who giveth great assurance to maintain good amity with her Majesty, and to stand constantly in the maintenance of the cause of the religion. The copies of the said King's letters omitted in the last dispatch, you shall receive herewith.

And so having nothing else for this time, I bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at St. James's, the 19th of October 1588.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSHINGHAM.

SIR,

AFTER the signing of my other letter, I received advertisement from a friend of mine at St. John de Luce, that there is great scarcity of corn in Spain this year; and that their hope is to be relieved out of France, without the which, they are like to endure great extremity. If the King there shall not assent unto a restraint, it is meant, that such of our ships as lie upon the coast of Spain, shall impeach all those that they shall find laden with grain, or any other kind of victual, from repairing thither, of what nation soever they be.

October 20.

It were good the King were let know so much by way of discourse. There is some information already made to those of the East Countries,

Her

ELIZABETH.
1588.

tries, that in case any of them shall be found upon the seas laden with corn, munition, or other warlike furniture, for Spain, they shall be held for good prize.

If it shall please God to bless Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, in their enterprizes, I hope all Christendom shall receive good by it. And so, in haste, I commit you to God.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford.

SIR,

Nov. 10.

THE return of this bearer giveth me occasion to acquaint you with such things as have passed of late in our affairs. The Duke of Parma hath of late retired his siege from Bergen-op-zoom, finding the place so well provided, and those within to make so good countenance, as he had no hope to win it without exceeding loss. Himself is retired to Brussels, and his forces partly into gar-rison, and partly, as we hear, are sent into Spain, by direction from the King, doubting of some attempt to be made by her Majesty upon Portugal.

To the end you may understand how things are between Scotland and us, I have sent you a copy of Mr. Athby's letter, whereby you shall perceive what great protestation the King maketh of both his constancy in religion, and sincerity in the amity of this crown.

I am informed that the French Ambassador here hath received order to stay here, and that his wife returneth to him, and that he is in hope that Villeroy shall be restored to the execution of his place, which giveth us occasion to doubt, the Ambassador being known to be so greatly affected to those of the League, and the Duke of Guise

enjoying the favour of the court, that the King will resolve to run that course. But of these things we shall hear more certainty from you. And in the mean time I bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at Greenwich, the 10th of November 1588.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford.

SIR,

THE Ambassador of France is greatly offended, that the King's request for his repair into France is denied. To be plain with you, considering in what terms France now standeth, and how the King seemeth to be affected towards her Majesty, I see no reason but that she might have assented thereunto. It is true, that your friends here, in respect of the peril that they doubt might have befallen to yourself, have prevailed so far (notwithstanding her Majesty did assent to his departure upon the first motion), as he is staid, until there shall come some answer from you, touching the matter you have in charge to deliver unto the King about the said Ambassador. Her Majesty would have you use some diligence in returning answer to these letters, for that the Ambassador is marvellous importunate, and impatient, pretending that his utter undoing dependeth upon this stay. I wish, considering how ill affected he standeth to this State, that some better-minded man were sent hither to supply his place; but I doubt greatly of any change, for that such as are employed in like charges, are so ill paid, as every man is glad to be exempted from public charges.

Her Majesty is very careful to receive particular information of the proceeding in Spain, and therefore I pray you be earnest with

3 B

your

ELIZABETH.
1588.

your friend, from whom you receive your chief advertisements from those parts, to deal effectually with his correspondent in Spain, to inform him frequently how things do pass, as well both in court, as also of the maritime preparations in that realm.

There came advertisement from Paris about ten days past, that the King of Spain was very sick, and without hope of recovery; but because it cometh not confirmed from you, we do not believe it here. It is hard to keep the death, or dangerous sickness, of a Prince, long secret, and therefore it cannot be, if it had been true, but that the French King's Agent would have advertised thereof; the death of the said King importing his Master so much as it doth. The Duke of Parma, since his repulse received at Bergen, attempteth nothing, nor meaneth to do, before the next Spring, unless it be by way of surprize. And so do I commit you to God. From my house at the Savoy, the 28th of November, 1588.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSHINGHAM.

Sir Francis Walsingham to Sir Edward Stafford.

S I R,

Dec. 10.

THE principal cause of the dispatch of this bearer groweth of the use I know you have of his service there.

Her Majesty resteth very greatly contented with the King's friendly answer touching the restraint*; which if the same shall be duly performed, the King of Spain shall not be well able either to annoy us, or defend himself; for that realm hath already more people than they can well feed; and therefore, if he shall draw thither foreign forces, without the which that kingdom will not be well

* Of Corn.

defended,

defended, he shall more annoy his subjects there by famine, than the enemy by force.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

It is greatly marvelled here, that the King doth put up so quietly the wrong done unto him by the Duke of Savoy. It is an unequal match when the Duke proceedeth with the cannon, and the King only with the use of messengers. If he take not a more resolute and princely course in government (and that shortly), his kingdom will be cantoned in his own days.

There was never a more apt occasion offered unto him to have been revenged of the heads of the League, than in the present assembly of the States, to have laid before them the miserable and dangerous state that France is cast into, through their ambitious pretenses and designs, under the vizard of religion: and although perhaps there be many of the present assembly there, that stand affected toward them, yet no doubt of it, the generality, through the natural affection they bear to the preservation of their country, would easily be drawn to take revenge, if they might find in the King a princely resolution to go through with the matter.

The present diseases of France will not be cured with that temporizing course that he now holdeth. For while he seeketh to recover a few towns, that are in the hands of those of the League, he will hazard his whole kingdom. But I fear there hangeth a fatal destiny over that realm, which will not be avoided.

The conferring the government of upon Nemours doth breed a jealousy, that the dislike between the Guises and his partizans, and the King, is but a matter dissembled; for who, say they, would give any countenance to that house, that is already grown to over great strength, and that in reason ought to be discountenanced, or rather utterly to be overthrown. And so I recommend you to God. From the Court at Greenwich, 10th of December, 1588.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSHINGHAM.

ELIZABETH.
1600-1.

No. XXII.

From a
Copy in the
possession of
the Earl of
Hardwicke.

Letter of Henry Cuffe, Secretary to Robert Earl of Essex, to Mr. Secretary Cecil, declaring the Effect of the Instructions framed by the Earl of Essex, and delivered to the Ambassador of the King of Scots, touching his title to the Crown of England, which letter was written after Cuffe's condemnation.

[Had this curious confession of Cuffe's been known to that accurate and intelligent compiler Dr. Birch, it would have been inserted in his Memoirs of Antony Bacon. From that excellent collection, we are as well acquainted with the Earl of Essex, and the Court of Queen Elizabeth, as if we had lived in it. Happy would it be for all Courts, if they reflected a little more on the figure they are to make in history. "Whatever may be said of me, said the 1st Duke of Ormond, I am resolved to lie well in the Chronicle." Vide Carte, Vol. II.]

IT is now high time, that he, whom a public justice hath condemned *, and pronounced the child of wrath, should, with the soonest, lay aside all cares of this life, reserving himself only for that, which the only author of life hath honoured with this testimony, that *unum est necessarium*.

For the better attending whereof, and avoiding all future distractions, I have resolved, of your Honour's commandment, to perform this last duty, by writing what of late I have often wished to have tendered to your Honour by word of mouth.

* He was condemned the 5th of March 1600-1, and hanged at Tyburn on the 13th of that month, being then about forty years of age.

At

At the time of my last examination in this house, it pleased your Honour to demand of me the sum of those instructions, which my late Lord and Master had made ready against the coming of the Scottish Ambassadors, whom he daily expected. Being at that time wholly possessed with exceeding grief, I could yield your Honour and the the rest of their Lordships very small satisfaction; in regard whereof I have ever since desired some private access to your honour, but being utterly out of hope of so great a favour, and being now called on by Mr. Lieutenant to perform my promise made unto your Honour at the time of my condemnation, I have thought it necessary to present to you the effect of those instructions, observing, as far as my memory will serve me, the very words and method of the original itself.

ELIZABETH.
1600-1.

Instructions for the Earl of Mar.

That the King his Master thought it necessary to beseech her Majesty to declare the right to the succession of this Crown; not because he observed in her Majesty any want of princely favour and affection towards him; but because he hath found, by infallible proof, that some very gracious with her Majesty, being of extraordinary both power and malice, will not fail one day (if God prevent it not) to make their advantages of the uncertainty of succession, not only to the prejudice, but also to the evident hazard and almost inevitable ruin of the whole island. For proof of their power there needeth no long discourse, all means, in all parties and quarters of the realm being in a manner wholly in their hands.

In the West, Sir Walter Raleigh commanding the uttermost province, where he may assist the Spaniards in their first invasion, if that course be held fittest; being also Captain of the isle of Jersey, there to harbour them upon any fit occasion.

In

At

ELIZABETH.
1600-1.

In the East, the Cinque Ports, which are the keys of this realm, are in the hands of Cobham; and likewise Kent, the next and directest way to the imperial city of this realm.

The treasure, the sinews of the state, and the navy, the walls of the realm, being commanded by the Lord Treasurer * and the Lord Admiral, both these great Officers of State, and the rest abovenamed, being principally loved by the principal Secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, who, for the farther strengthening of himself, hath established his own brother the Lord Burleigh in the government of the north parts; and in the Presidentship of Wales, now void, will undoubtedly place somebody, who shall undoubtedly acknowledge it of him; as likewise in Ireland he hath accordingly procured for Sir George Carew that province, which, above all others, is fittest for the Spanish design, in whose hands, if the commander himself may be believed, there is a greater army than he needeth. To omit, that the said Sir George Carew is shortly in expectation to succeed in the government of that whole kingdom, upon the recalling of the now Lord Montjoy.

That their malice towards the King was no less than their power, it appeareth,

First, That some of them had given direct proof of their ill affection by ill offices: and this point was left to the Ambassadors, because the Earl of Essex was informed, that the King was able to procure clear evidence thereof.

Secondly, Because all their counsels and endeavours tended to the advancement of the Infanta of Spain to the succession of this crown; which point was confirmed by nine arguments.

1. Their continual and excessive commending of the Excellencies of the Infanta, and seeking, by all means, to breed both in her Majesty, and in all others, an extraordinary good opinion of her.

2. The earnest seeking to revive the treaty lately broken, notwithstanding it was interrupted by the Spaniard, not without some disadvantage offered to the Crown.

* Lord Buckhurst.

† Munster.

3. The speech of the principal Counsellor (and, as I remember, he said he meant it of your Honour) to an honourable Personage, that he knew there could no sound peace be made betwixt us and Spain; yet for the better compassing of some purposes, he could be willing to entertain the treaty again.

ELIZABETH.
1600-1.

4. The slack and easy hand, that hath been lately carried towards the priests of the jesuitical faction, of all others the most pernicious; which can have no other interpretation, than that the Popish faction favouring the Infanta, which are as many as the Jesuits can prevail with, might depend on them, as on their chief protectors.

5. The speech of the Lord Treasurer, who upon news that the Archduke was hurt, and, as some thought, slain, in the last year's battle at Newport, answered, that if he were slain, he thought her Majesty had lost one of her best friends.

7. The alteration of their proceeding with Alabaster and one Rolston, who have ever found more favour since they professed themselves of the Spanish faction.

Two more reasons were there, which I cannot now call to mind.

Whether, among so many other matters of importance wherewith he lately acquainted your Honour, and the rest of their Lordships, any of these reasons and instructions were by him remembered, I know not; only, because your Honour and their Lordships did, at that time, earnestly press me to deliver some of them, I have endeavoured to give your Honour the best satisfaction I could, being verily persuaded, that this abstract, in sense, very little differs from the first draught.

Of my own particular, being no less destitute of hope than comfort in this world, I dare say nothing; only I beseech your Honour, let it not be thought presumption to add thus much in general, that if the King of Kings thought it fit for his glory, where he found least merit, to extend his greatest grace, your Honour will account it no small resemblance of that divine pattern, if his Royal Lieutenants

and

ELIZABETH.
1600-1.

and their Ministers upon earth, having laid prostrate humble offenders at the feet of justice, shall be content to surrender up the sword of justice into the hands of mercy.

Thus, most humbly beseeching your Honour, to vouchsafe me your favourable opinion at my last farewell out of this miserable world, I rest,

Your Honour's most humble

and most distressed suppliant,

HENRY CUFFE.

No. XXIII.

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London
Feb. 14th,

No. XXIII.

Two letters of Sir Dudley Carleton (afterwards Viscount Dorchester), concerning Sir W. Raleigh's plot; inclosed in the following letter from Mr. Dudley Carleton, to Philip Lord Wharton.

From the
Wharton
Papers.

My noble Lord,

THE two letters inclosed are those, of which, when I told your Lordship, you shewed yourself very desirous to have sight, and therefore I have sent them to you. That Dudley Carleton, whose name you will find subscribed to them, was my uncle, who died Secretary to his late Majesty, who had likewise honoured him with the title of Viscount Dorchester; and I suppose you knew him. He was, at the time he wrote them, Secretary to my Lord of Northumberland's father, and both an ear and eye witness of most that passed in the arraignment and execution at Winchester, in anno 1603. I wish they may serve your Lordship to such use as you desire; and if I could give you any farther light, I should be most ready to serve you, as being

Your Lordship's, &c.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

London,
Feb. 14th, 1651.

JAMES I.
1603.

Sir Dudley Carleton, to Mr. John Chamberlain.

S I R,

Nov. 27th.

I WAS taking care how to send unto you, and little looked for so good a means as your man, who came to me this morning; and though he would in all haste be gone, I have stayed him this night, to have time to discourse unto you these tragical proceedings.

I was not present at the first or second arraignment, wherein Brooke, Markham, Brookesby, Copley, and the two Priests were condemned, for practising the surprize of the King's person, the taking of the Tower, the deposing of Counsellors, and proclaiming liberty of religion. They were all condemned upon their own confessions, which were set down under their own hands, as declarations; and compiled with such labour and care, to make the matter they undertook seem very feasible, as if they had feared they should not say enough to hang themselves. Pirra was acquitted, being only drawn in by the Priests as an assistant, without knowing the purpose; yet had he gone the same way as the rest (as it is thought), save for a word the Lord Cecil cast in the way as his cause was in handling, that the King's glory consisted as much in freeing the innocent, as condemning the guilty.

The Commissioners for this trial were, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord of Devon, Lord Henry Howard, Lord Cecil, Lord Wotton, the Vice Chamberlain, the two Chief Justices, Justice Gawdy, and Warburton. Of the King's Council, none were employed in that, or the arraignment, but the Attorney*, Heale, and Philips; and in effect, none but the Attorney. Sir Walter Raleigh served for a whole act, and played all the parts himself. His cause was dis-

* Coke.

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joined from the Priests, as being a practice only between himself and the Lord Cobham, to have brought in the Spaniard, to have raised rebellion in the realm, by fastening money upon discontents, to have set up the Lady Arabella, and to have tied her to certain conditions; as to have a perpetual peace with Spain; not to have bestowed herself in marriage but at the direction of the Spaniard; and to have granted liberty of religion. The evidence against him, was only Cobham's confession, which was judged sufficient to condemn him; and a letter was produced, written by Cobham the day before, by which he accused Raleigh as the first practiser of the treason betwixt them; which served to turn against him; though he shewed, to countervail this, a letter written by Cobham, and delivered to him in the Tower, by which he was clearly acquitted. After sentence given, his request was, to have his answers related to the King, and pardon begged; of which, if there were no hope, then that Cobham might die first. He answered with that temper, wit, learning, courage and judgment, that save that it went with the hazard of his life, it was the happiest day that ever he spent. And so well he shifted all advantages that were taken against him, that were not *fama malum gravius quam res*, and an ill name half hanged, in the opinion of all men, he had been acquitted.

The two first that brought the news to the King, were Roger Ashton and a Scotchman; whereof one affirmed, that never any man spoke so well in times past, nor would do in the world to come; and the other said, that whereas when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred, that he would have gone a hundred miles to have seen him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to have saved his life. In one word, never was man so hated, and so popular, in so short a time. It was thought the Lords should have been arraigned on Tuesday last, but they were put off till Friday and Saturday; and had their trials apart before the Lord Chancellor * (as Lord Steward for both those days), eleven Earls, nineteen

* Ellefmere.

JAMES I.
1603.

JAMES I.
1603.

Barons. The Duke *, the Earl of Marr, and many Scottish Lords stood as spectators; and of our Ladies, the greatest part, as the Lady Nottingham, the Lady Suffolk, and the Lady Arabella, who heard herself much spoken of these days. But, the arraignment before, she was more particularly remembered, as by Sir Walter Raleigh, for a woman, with whom he had no acquaintance, and one, whom, of all that he ever saw, he never liked; and by Serjeant Hale, as one that had no more right to the Crown than himself; and for any claim that he had to it, he utterly disavowed it. Cobham led the way on Friday, and made such a fasting day's piece of work of it; that he discredited the place to which he was called; never was seen so poor and abject a spirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling, and would sometimes interrupt it; by forswearing what he thought to be wrongly inserted; so as, by his fashion, it was known ere he spake, what he would confess or deny. In his first answer, he said, he had changed his mind since he came to the bar; for whereas he came with an intention to have made his confession, without denying any thing, now seeing many things inserted in this indictment with which he could not be charged, being not able in one word to make distinction of many parts, he must plead to all *not guilty*. For any thing that belonged to the Lady Arabella, he denied the whole accusation; only said, she had sought his friendship, and his brother Brooke had sought her's. For the other purposes, he said, he had hammered in his brains some such imaginations; but never had purpose to bring them to effect. Upon Raleigh, he exclaimed as one who had stirred him up to discontent, and thereby overthrown his fortunes. Against him he said, that he had once propounded to him a means for the Spaniard to invade England, which was, to bring down an army to the Groyne, under pretence to send them into the Low Countries, and land them at Milford Haven:

* Of Lenox, then the only one of that degree.

that

that he had made himself a pensioner to Spain for 1500 crowns by the year, to give intelligence; and, for an earnest of his diligence, had already related to the Count D'Aremberg, the particularities of what passed in the States audiences at Greenwich. His brother's confession was read against him, wherein he accused him of a contract made with Aremberg for 500,000 crowns to bestow amongst discontents, whereof Raleigh was to have had 10,000, Grey as much, and Brooke 1000; the rest, as they should find fit men to bestow it on. He excepted against his brother as an incompetent accuser, baptizing him with the name of a viper; and laid to his charge (though far from the purpose) the getting of his wife's sister with child; in which it is thought he did young Coppinger some wrong.

A letter was produced which he wrote to Aremberg for so much money; and Aremberg's answer, consenting for the furnishing of that sum. He then flew to his former retreat, that in this likewise he had no ill meaning, and excused Aremberg as one that meant only thereby to further the peace. When particularities were farther urged, that, in his intended travel, he meant to have gone into the Low Countries to the Archduke; from thence into Savoy; so into Spain; then have returned by Jersey; and there to have met Raleigh, and to have brought some money from the Well Spring, where it was to be had, he confessed imaginations, but no purposes; and still laid the fault upon his own weaknesses, in that he suffered himself to be misled by Raleigh. Being asked of his two letters to different purposes, the one excusing, the other condemning Raleigh; he said, the last was true, but the other was drawn from him by device in the Tower, by young Harvey the Lieutenant's son, whom Raleigh had corrupted, and carried intelligence betwixt them (for which he is there committed, and is likely to be arraigned at the King's Bench). Having thus accused all his friends, and so little excused himself, the Peers were not long in deliberation what to judge; and after sentence of condemnation given, he begged a great while for life and favour.

JAMES I.
1603.

favour, alleging his confession as a meritorious act. Grey, quite in another key, began with great assurances and alacrity; spake a long and eloquent speech, first to the Lords, and then to the Judges, and lastly to the King's Council; and told them well of their charges, and spake effectually for himself. He held them the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night, in subtle traverses and scapes; but the evidence was too perspicuous, both by Brooke's and Markham's confessions, that he was acquainted with the surprise*; yet the Lords were long ere they could all agree, and loth to come out with so hard censure against him. For though he had some heavy enemies, as his old antagonist, who was mute before his face, but spake within very unnobly against him; yet most of them strove with themselves, and would fain (as it seemed) have dispensed with their consciences to have shewed him favour. At the pronouncing of the opinion of the Lords, and the demand whether he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be given against him, these only were his words, "I have nothing to say;" there he paused long; "and yet a word of Tacitus comes in my mind, *Non eadem omnibus decora*: the house of the Wiltons had spent many lives in their Prince's service, and Grey cannot beg his. "God send the King a long and prosperous reign, and to your Lordships all honour."

After sentence given, he only desired to have one Travers †, a Divine, sent for to come to him, if he might live two days. If he were to die before that, then he might have one Field, whom he thought to be near. There was great compassion had of this gallant young Lord; for so clear and fiery a spirit had not been seen by any that had been present at like trials. Yet the Lord Steward condemned his manner much, terming it Lucifer's pride, and preached much humiliation; and the Judges liked him as little, because he

* Of the Court.

† A Puritan, the antagonist of Hooker.

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disputed with them against their laws. We cannot yet judge what will become of him or the rest; for all are not like to go one way. Cobham is of the surest side, for he is thought least dangerous, and the Lord Cecil undertakes to be his friend. They say the priests shall lead the dance to-morrow; and Brooke next after; for he proves to be the knot that tied together the three conspiracies; the rest hang indifferent betwixt mercy and justice, wherein the King hath now subject to practise himself. The Lords are most of them returned to the court. The Lord Chancellor and Treasurer remain here till Tuesday, to shut up the term. My Lord goeth from hence to Petworth; but I pick quarrel to stay behind, to see an end of these matters. The Court is like to Christmas at Windsor; and many plays and shews are bespoken, to give entertainment to our Ambassadors.

JAMES I.
1603.

The French King doth winter at Fountainbleau, and is fallen into a new delight of the Italian comedians, of which I send you a conceit put upon Monsieur Rosny. The Queen is there made *Chef du Conseil*, and grows very expert in dispatch of affairs. The Marquis is quite retired from Court. Rosny and Soissons go up and down like two buckets; for they are not so reconciled, but as one comes to the court, the other is ever going away. They say, we shall have here from thence, ere long, Mr. Zamet*; I know not to what other purpose, unless it be to teach us to make good sauce, and to show their variety of excellent men in all crafts. The Marquis de Luttin, Ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, is at Brussels, and so far on his way hitherwards. The Grand Chaoux is arrived at the French court, and will likewise come hither to congratulate with our King from the Turk. The Venetian Ambassadors had audience at court on Sunday last. They were brought from Southampton to Salisbury, by Mr. Allen Percy, with two of the King's coaches, and four pad horses, and were welcomed with the foulest day that came

* A French financier, gamester, and *bon vivant*. Henry IV. often eat with him.

this

JAMES I.
1603.

this year; and at night (as they came late), found but seven beds prepared for seven score. The day they were had to their audience, there was an embargo of coaches before the court gate, to bring them thither; but as soon as they were arrived, every man departed with his own coaches, for fear of the like arrest; so as the greatest part of them were forced to go home on foot, and some of the best fort to stay till midnight, for the return of their coaches. The knavish Frenchmen laugh at their disorders, and say they are served like right Pantaloons; but they deserve to be better stiled, for they are come in best shew and fashion of any I saw yet; and do all things with as great magnificency. As to their Captain that waisted them over, they gave forty crowns, besides petty presents; whereas the Spanish Ambassador gave Sir Robert Mansfield a leather jerkin, and the Count D' Aremberg, a Parmesan cheese.

A fortnight since, there was a petty Ambassador at Court, from the State of Stade, who came when no man looked for him; and took the King as he found him, presently after sermon, and in the open presence set upon him with a long Latin oration. The King made him no long answer; but gave the honour of entertaining him to Secretary Herbert*. The Agent of Geneva hath obtained a collection to be made in all the churches of England and Scotland, for the space of three months; his Masters, in the mean time, have fairly scaped another surprize on a Sunday as they were at service. The siege of Bolduc is raised, and the two Generals retired to Brussels and the Hague. I send you a letter I received from Mr. Winwood, of this Summer's service in those parts; wherein I think you will marvel, as well as I, that the States are grown so curst hearted to give away Grave, because they cannot take Bolduc. The Spanish Ambassador hath been with the King to expostulate some words he heard to be spoken at these arraignments, in prejudice of his Master;

* Called second Secretary, but the business was engrossed by Cecil.

and

and to please him, the Attorney took occasion to make an open apology. The last week he feasted the French Ambassador's * wife, with many of our ladies; and had music and dancing; at which the French Ambassador and he were at half falling out, who should lead the dance. They all returned very ill satisfied, for cheer or entertainment.

JAMES I.
1603.

The French Ambassador, at his last audience, brought his companion D'Auval, to take his leave; who is gone for good and all. The King knighted him, and gave him a jewel of 150 crowns.

Our Ambassador in France † (they say) is busy in making a new French grammar and dictionary. One Walton, a man of his, that has remained with him ever since his going over, is turned Monk, and hath put himself into a cloister at Compiègne.

Fitzherbert, whom he took into my place, is come over hither to seek a new fortune. Out of Ireland, here are come many captains and cashiered officers, with their pockets full of brass, and sue to have it made good silver; but the Lord Treasurer's skill is not that of alchymy. The coffers are so empty, that household officers are unpaid, and the pensioners and guard are ready to mutiny. There was, a fortnight since, near Salisbury, a desperate combat, betwixt Douglas the Master of the King's Horse, and Lee, brother to the Avenor; who began their quarrel at Windsor. Douglas was left dead in the field, with three hurts, and was buried three days after in Salisbury church, with a kind of solemnity, at which the Duke, the Scottish Lords, and all other Scot and Lot were present. Lee was hurt in four places; but lives, and is like to escape. He is not much followed by the Scots, because they hold there was fair play between them. The younger Douglas has his brother's place, which doth somewhat help to appease the quarrel. Sir Thomas Germyn hath got the reversion of Jersey, after Sir John Painton.

* Mr. de Beaumont, a punctilious character.

† Sir Thomas Parry.

JAMES I.
1603.

Sir Philip Herbert and Sir James Hayes have got betwixt them a grant of Transport of Cloths, worth 10,000l. at the least. I do call to mind a pretty secret, that the Lady of Pembroke hath written to her son Philip, and charged him, of all her blessings, to employ his own credit, his friend's, and all he can do, for Raleigh's pardon; and though she does little good, yet she is to be commended for doing her best, in shewing *veteris vestigia flammæ*. And thus being come round where I began, it is time to leave you, desiring you to excuse me to my cousin Sir Rowland Litton, for not writing; and so you well may, for you have enough for yourself and all my kindred and friends, to make you all weary. My brother Carleton and brother Williams are both here, and have left all well from whence they came; save only the little gentlewoman in Northamptonshire; who is so woe-begone for lack of good company, that she thinks the plague in London would not have hurt her so much, as melancholy in the country. I supped this night with Sir Henry Fanshaw, where you were kindly remembered. Sir Walter Cope is in this town, and Sir Hugh Beston likewise, who often asks for you as your friend, and therefore you are the more to lament that he is untimely come to a night-cap. Many marvel at his sudden breaking, but most ascribe it to a thought he took at a word which Sir Walter Raleigh spoke at his examinations; who asked if Sir Hugh Beston was not apprehended and tortured, because he was always of his chiefest council. I shall never end, unless I abruptly bid you farewell.

From Winchester, the 27th of November, 1603.

Your's, &c.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

The

JAMES I.
1603.*The Same to the Same.*

S I R,

I KNOW not when or how to send to you; yet here happening an accident worth your knowledge, I cannot but put it in record, whilst the memory of it is fresh; and for the rest, stand to the venture. But because I have taken a time of good leisure, and it is likely this letter will take his leisure, ere it come at you; I may as well leap in where I left, when I wrote to you by your man, and proceed in an order by narration; since this was a part of the same play, and that other acts came betwixt, to make up a tragical comedy.

December
11.

The two Priests that led the way to the execution, were very bloodily handled; for they were both cut down alive; and Clarke, to whom more favour was intended, had the worse luck; for he both strove to help himself, and spake after he was cut down. They died boldly, both; and Watfon (as he would have it seem) willing; wishing he had more lives to spend, and one to lose, for every man he had by his treachery drawn into this treason. Clarke stood somewhat upon his justification, and thought he had hard measure; but imputed it to his function, and therefore thought his death meritorious, as a kind of martyrdom. Their quarters were set on Winchester gates, and their heads on the first tower of the castle. Brooke was beheaded in the Castle-yard, on Monday last; and to double his grief, had St. Croftes in his sight, from the scaffold, which drove him first to discontent*. There was no greater assembly than I have seen at ordinary executions; nor no man of quality more than the Lord of Arundel and young Somersfet; only the Bishop of Chichester, who was sent from the Court two days before, to prepare him to his end, could not get loose from him; but, by

* Missing, I suppose, the Masterhip.

JAMES I.
1603.

Brooke's earnest entreaty was fain to accompany him to the scaffold, and serve for his ghostly father. He died constantly (and, to seeming, religiously); spake not much; but what he said was well and assured. He did somewhat extenuate his offences, both in the treasons, and the course of his life; naming these rather errors than capital crimes; and his former faults, sins; but not so heinous as they were traduced; which he referred to the God of Truth and time to discover; and so left it, as if somewhat lay yet hid, which would one day appear for his justification. The Bishop went from him to the Lord Cobham; and, at the same time, the Bishop of Winchester was with Raleigh; both by express order from the King; as well to prepare them for their ends, as likewise to bring them to liberal confessions, and by that means reconcile the contradictions of the one's open accusation, and the other's peremptory denial. The Bishop of Chichester had soon done what he came for, finding in Cobham a willingness to die, and readiness to die well; with purpose at his death to affirm as much as he had said against Raleigh; but the other Bishop had more to do with his charge; for though, for his conscience, he found him well settled, and resolved to die a Christian, and a good Protestant, for the point of confession, he found him so strait-laced, that he would yield to no part of Cobham's accusation; only, the pension, he said, was once mentioned, but never proceeded in. Grey, in the mean time, with his minister Field, having had the like summons for death, spent his time in great devotions; but with that careless regard of that, with which he was threatened, that he was observed neither to eat or sleep the worse, or be any ways distracted from his accustomed fashions. Markham was told he should likewise die; but by secret message from some friends at Court, had still such hope given him, that he would not believe the worst news till the last day; and though he could be content to talk with the preacher which was assigned him, it was rather to pass time, than for any good purpose;

for

for he was catholickly disposed; to think of death no way disposed. JAMES I.
1603.
 Whilst these men were so occupied at Winchester, there was no small doings about them at Court, for life or death; some pushing at the wheel one way, some another. The Lords of the Council joined in opinion and advice to the King, now in the beginning of his reign, to shew as well examples of mercy as severity, and to gain the title of *Clemens*, as well as *Justus*; but some others, led by their private spleen and passions, drew as hard the other way; and Patrick Galloway, in his sermon on Tuesday, preached so hotly against remissness and moderation of justice, in the head of justice, as if it were one of the seven deadly sins. The King held himself upright betwixt two waters; and first, let the Lords know, that since the law had passed upon the prisoners, and that they themselves had been their judges, it became not them to be petitioners for that, but rather to press for execution of their own ordinances; and to others, gave as good reasons, to let them know that he would go no whit the faster for their driving; but would be led as his own judgment and affections would move him; but seemed rather to lean to this side than the other, by the care he took to have the law take his course, and the execution halted.

Warrants were signed, and sent to Sir Benjamin Tichborne, on Wednesday last at night, for Markham, Grey, and Cobham, who in this order were to take their turns, as yesterday, being Friday, about ten of the clock. A fouler day could hardly have been picked out, or fitter for such a tragedy. Markham being brought to the scaffold, was much dismayed, and complained much of his hard hap, to be deluded with hopes, and brought to that place unprepared. One might see in his face the very picture of sorrow; but he seemed not to want resolution; for a napkin being offered by a friend that stood by, to cover his face, he threw it away, saying, he could look upon death without blushing. He took leave of some friends that stood near, and betook himself to his devotions, after his manner; and those

JAMES I.
1603.

those ended, prepared himself to the block. The Sheriff, in the mean time, was secretly withdrawn, by one John Gib, a Scotch Groom of the Bedchamber; whereupon the execution was stayed, and Markham left upon the scaffold to entertain his own thoughts, which, no doubt, were as melancholy as his countenance, sad and heavy. The Sheriff, at his return, told him, that since he was so ill prepared, he should yet have two hours respite, so led him from the scaffold, without giving him any more comfort, and locked him into the great hall, to walk with Prince Arthur. The Lord Grey, whose turn was next, was led to the scaffold by a troop of the young courtiers, and was supported on both sides by two of his best friends; and coming in this equipage, had such gaiety and cheer in his countenance, that he seemed a dapper young bridegroom. At his first coming on the scaffold, he fell on his knees, and his preacher made a long prayer to the present purpose, which he seconded himself with one of his own making, which, for the phrase, was somewhat affected, and suited to his other speeches; but, for the fashion, expressed the fervency and zeal of a religious spirit. In his confession, he said, though God knew this fault of his was far from the greatest, yet he knew, and could but acknowledge his heart to be faulty; for which he asked pardon of the King; and thereupon entered into a long prayer for the King's good estate, which held us in the rain more than half an hour; but being come to a full point, the Sheriff stayed him, and said, he had received orders from the King, to change the order of the execution, and that the Lord Cobham was to go before him; whereupon he was likewise led to Prince Arthur's hall, and his going away seemed more strange unto him, than his coming thither; for he had no more hope given him, than of an hour's respite; neither could any man yet dive into the mystery of this strange proceeding.

The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and by his former actions promised nothing but *matiere pour rire*, did much

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cozen the world; for he came to the scaffold with good assurance, and contempt of death. He said some short prayers after his Minister, and so outprayed the company that helped to pray with him, that a stander-by said, *he had a good mouth in a cry, but was nothing single.* Some few words he used, to express his sorrow for his offence to the King, and craved pardon of him and the world; for Sir Walter Raleigh, he took it, upon the hope of his soul's resurrection, that what he had said of him was true; and with those words would have taken a short farewell of the world, with that constancy and boldness, that we might see by him, it is an easier matter to die well than live well.

He was stayed by the Sheriff, and told, that there resteth yet somewhat else to be done; for that he was to be confronted with some other of the prisoners, but named none. So as Grey and Markham being brought back to the scaffold, as they then were, but nothing acquainted with what had passed, no more than the lookers-on with what should follow, looked strange one upon the other, like men beheaded, and met again in the other world. Now all the actors being together on the stage (as use is at the end of a play), the Sheriff made a short speech unto them, by way of the interrogatory of the heinousness of their offences, the justness of their trials, their lawful condemnation, and due execution there to be performed; to all which they assented; then, saith the Sheriff, see the mercy of your Prince, who, of himself, hath sent hither a countermand, and given you your lives. There was then no need to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with such hues and cries, that it went from the castle into the town, and there began afresh, as if there had been some such like accident. And this experience was made of the difference of examples of justice and mercy; that in this last, no man could cry loud enough, *God save the King*; and at the holding up of Brookes's head, when the executioner began the same cry, he was not seconded by the voice of any one man, but the Sheriff. You must

JAMES I.
1603.

JAMES I.
1603.

must think, if the spectators were so glad, the actors were not sorry; for even those that went best resolved to death, were glad of life. Cobham vowed openly, if ever he proved traitor again, never so much as to beg his life; and Grey, that since he had his life, without begging, he would deserve it. Markham returned with a merrier countenance than he came to the scaffold. Raleigh, you must think (who had a window opened that way), had hammers working in his head, to beat out the meaning of this stratagem. His turn was to come on Monday next; but the King has pardoned him with the rest, and confined him with the two Lords to the Tower of London, there to remain during pleasure. Markham, Brooksby and Copley, are to be banished the realm. This resolution was taken by the King without man's help, and no man can rob him of the praise of yesterday's action; for the Lords knew no other, but that execution was to go forward, till the very hour it should be performed; and then, calling them before him, he told them, how much he had been troubled to resolve in this business; for to execute Grey, who was a noble, young, spirited fellow, and save Cobham, who was as base and unworthy, were a manner of injustice. To save Grey, who was of a proud insolent nature, and execute Cobham, who had shewed great tokens of humility and repentance, were as great a solecism; and so went on with Plutarch's comparisons in the rest, till travelling in contrarieties, but holding the conclusion in so indifferent balance, that the Lords knew not what to look for till the end came out, *and therefore I have saved them all.* The miracle was as great there, as with us at Winchester, and it took like effect; for the applause that began about the King, went from thence into the presence, and so round about the Court.

I send you a copy of the King's letter, which was privately written the Wednesday night, and the messenger dispatched the Thursday about noon. But one thing had like to have marred the play; for the letter was closed, and delivered him unsigned; which the King remembered

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remembered himself, and called for him back again. And at Winchester, there was another cross adventure; for John Gib could not get so near the scaffold, that he could speak to the Sheriff, but was thrust out amongst the boys, and was fain to call out to Sir James Hayes, or else Markham might have lost his neck. There were other by-passages, if I could readily call them to mind; but here is enough already for *un petit mot de lettre*, and therefore I bid you heartily farewell. From Salisbury this 11th of December 1603*.

JAMES I.

1603.

Your's, &c.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

* There are in the Salisbury Collection, throw light on their respective cases, if they several letters from these prisoners during were published, their confinement, which probably would

JAMES I.

1614.

No. XXIV.

Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton at Turin.

My very good Lord,

From the
Paper Office.
1614.
March 15th.

I AM newly returned from Cambridge, whither I went some two days after I wrote you my last. The King made his entry there the 7th of this present, with as much solemnity and concourse of gallants and great men, as the hard weather and extreme foul ways would permit. The Prince came along with him, but not the Queen, by reason (as it is said) that she was not invited; which error is rather imputed to their Chancellor, than to the scholars, that understand not these courses. Another defect was, that there were no Ambassadors, which no doubt was upon the same reason; but the absence of women may be the better excused for default of language, there being few or none present, but of the Howards, or that alliance; as the Countess of Arundel, with her sister, the Lady Elizabeth Grey; the Countess of Suffolk, with her daughters of Salisbury and Somerset; the Lady Walden and Henry Howard's wife; which were all that I remember. The Lord Treasurer kept there a very great port and magnificent table, with the expence of a thousand pounds a day, as is said; but that seems too large an allowance; but sure his provisions were very great, besides plenty of presents; and may be in some sort estimated by his proportion of wine, whereof he spent twenty-six tun in five days. He lodged and kept his table at St. John's college; but his Lady and her retinue at Magdalen College, whereof his grandfather Audley was founder. The King and Prince lay at Trinity College, where the plays were represented; and the hall so well ordered for room, that above 2000 persons were conveniently placed. The first night's entertainment was a comedy, and acted by St. John's men, the chief part consisting of a counterfeit Sir Edward Ratcliffe, a foolish tutor of physick; which proved

but

JAMES I.
1614.

but a lean argument; and though it were larded with pretty shews at the beginning and end, and with somewhat too broad speech for such a presence, yet it was still dry. The second night was a comedy of Clare Hall, with the help of two or three good actors from other houses, wherein David Drummond in a hobby horse, and Brakin the recorder of the town, under the name of Ignoramus, a common lawyer, bare great parts. The thing was full of mirth and variety, with many excellent actors (among whom the Lord Compton's son, though least, was not worst), but more than half marred with extreme length. The third night was an English comedy, called Albumazar, of Trinity College's action and invention; but there was no great matter in it, more than one good Clown's part. The last night was a Latin Pastoral of the same house, excellently written, and as well acted, which gave great contentment, as well to the King, as to the rest. Now this being the state of their plays, their acts and disputations fell out much after the same manner; for the divinity act was performed reasonably well, but not answerable to the expectation; the law and physick acts stark naught; but the philosophy act made amends, and indeed was very excellent; insomuch that the same day, the Bishop of Ely sent the moderator, the answerer, the varier or prevaricator, and one of the repliers, that were all of his house, twenty angels a piece. Now, for orations and *conscios ad clerum*, I heard not many; but those I did, were extraordinary; and the better, for that they were short. The university orator, Netherfole, though he be a proper man, and think well of himself, yet he is taxed for calling the Prince *Jacobissime Carole*; and some will needs add, that he called him *Jacobule* too; which neither pleased the King nor any body else. But sure the King was exceedingly pleased many times, both at the plays and disputations; for I had the hap to be, for most part, within hearing; and often at his meals he would express as much. He visited all the colleges save two or three, and commends them beyond

JAMES I.
1614.

Oxford, yet I am not so partial, but therein I must crave pardon not to be of his opinion. Though I endured a great deal of penance by the way for this little pleasure, yet I would not have missed it, for that I see thereby the partiality of both sides; the Cambridge men pleasing and applauding themselves in all, and the Oxford men as fast condemning and detracting all that was done; wherein yet I commended Corbet's modesty whilst he was there; who being seriously dealt withal by some friends to say what he thought, answered, that he had left his malice and judgment at home, and came thither only to commend.

Paul Tomson the gold-clipper hath his pardon, and not only so, but is absolved a *pena et culpa*, whereby he keeps his livings, and never came to trial; and I heard he had the face to appear in the town, whilst the King was there.

Sir Arthur Ingram is, in a sort, *desurranné*, for Sir Marmaduke Dorrell is appointed to keep the table, and dispatch the business of the cofferer, and he only to retain the name till Michaelmas, that the accompts may be made up, and in the mean time order taken, that he may be reimbursed of such monies as he hath lawfully laid out, or can challenge in this cause.

Old Sir John Cutts is lately dead, and here is such a speech of the Lord Rosse, but there is no great credit given to it, because it comes only out of the Low Countries. Your nephew Carleton is arrested with the small-pox, which hindered his journey to Cambridge.

I had almost forgotten, that almost all the Courtiers went forth Masters of Arts, at the King's being there; but few or no Doctors, save only Younge, which was done by a mandate, being son to Sir Peter, the King's school-master. The Vice Chancellor and university were exceeding strict in that point, and refused many importunities of great men, among whom was Mr. Secretary, that made great means for Mr. Westfield; but it would not be; neither the King's intreaty for John Dun would prevail; yet they are threatened with

with a mandate, which, if it come, it is like they will obey; but they are resolved to give him such a blow withal, that he were better be without it. Indeed the Bishop of Chichester, Vice Chancellor, hath been very stiff, and carried himself very peremptory that way, wherein he is not much to be blamed, being a matter of more consequence than at first was imagined. He did his part every way, as well in moderating the Divinity Act, as in taking great pains in all other things, and keeping exceeding great cheer.

I have here sent you the questions in brief, for otherwise they would bear too great a bulk. And so I commend you to the protection of the Almighty. From London the 16th of March 1614.

Your Lordship's to command,

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

JAMES I.
1614.

JAMES I.

1617.

No. XXV.

From a copy
taken by Mr.
Sawyer, edi-
tor of Win-
wood's Me-
moirs.

The Earl of Buckingham to Mr. Secretary Winwood.

[Sir Walter Raleigh accused King James of having disclosed the whole design of his voyage to Gundomar. How far the following letter confirms this charge, is left to the reader's judgment. Winwood, who was a great enemy to the Spanish interest, must have executed this commission with reluctance.]

S I R,

I HAVE acquainted his Majesty with your letter, and that which came inclosed from Sir Henry Wotton, of whose opinion his Majesty is, touching the advertisement given therein, that this discovery is like to unite the Duke and the Venetian closer together, and bring on better conditions for a peace with Spain. His Majesty perceiveth by a letter he hath received from the Spanish Ambassador, that you have not been yet with him to acquaint him with the order taken by his Majesty about Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage; and therefore would have you go to him as soon as you can possible, to relate unto him particularly his Majesty's care of that business, and the course he hath taken therein. And so I rest

Your very loving friend,

BUCKINGHAM.

Lincoln,
March 28th, 1617.

No. XXVI.

Papers relative to the Spanish Match.

[The *Pro* and the *Con* about the Spanish Match, has been sufficiently discussed by the Historians. The letters that now follow, will throw additional lights on that impolitic transaction, and on the characters of a doating Monarch, an unexperienced heir apparent, and a favourite, intoxicated not only by his power, but by the familiarity in which he lived with his Royal Masters. It is sufficient to add, that the Spanish Court at last were sincere and earnest for the Match; that it was broke off, in no very handsome manner, by the English Ministry; and that it was absurd in King James and his Council ever to expect, that the Spanish Cabinet should engage in a war against the other branch of their family, for the restitution of the Palatinate. The expedient proposed by that Court, of educating a young Protestant Prince in so Catholic a Court, as that of Vienna, though recommended by the Earl of Bristol, was certainly impracticable. That Nobleman, though a man of honour and ability, was disappointed in his hopes of making his fortune at home by the marriage, and points very darkly at some secrets relative to it, in a defence presented to King James after his return; the copy of which hereafter follows].

From the
Harleian
MSS. in
the British
Museum.

King James to the Prince, and Duke of Buckingham.

MY sweet Boys, and dear ventrous Knights, worthy to be put
in a new Romanfo. Feb. 26th.

I thank you for your comfortable letters, but alas, think it not possible, that ye can be many hours undiscovered, for your parting
was

JAMES I.
1622.

was so blown abroad that day ye came to Dover, as the French Ambassador sent a man presently thither, who found the ports stopped; but yet I durst not trust to the bare stopping of the ports, there being so many blind creeks to pass at, and therefore I sent Doncaster to the French King, with a short letter of my own hand, to show him that respect, that I may acquaint him with my son's passing unknown through his country; and this I have I done, for fear that, upon the first rumour of your passing, he should take a pretext to stop you: and therefore Baby Charles, ye shall do well, how soon ye come to

in Spain, to write a courteous excuse of your hasty passage to the French King, and send a gentleman with it, if by any means ye may spare any. Vacandarie is come from Spain, but brings no news, save that Sim Digby is shortly to be here, with a list of their names, that are to accompany your Mistress hither; only Bristol writes an earnest letter, to have more money allowed him for his charges at that solemnity, otherwise he says, he cannot hasten the consummation of the marriage; but that ye two can best satisfy him in, when ye are there. Your household, Baby, have taken care to save a good deal of your ordinary charges in your absence. Kirke and Gabriel will carry Georges and Garters to you both with speed, but I dare send no jewels of any value to either of you by land, for fear of robbers, but I will hasten all your company and provision to you by sea: Noblemen ye will have enow, and too many; Carlisle and Montjoy, already gone; Andover goes presently; and Rocheford by land; Compton goes by sea, and I think Piercy, Arran, and Denbigh, go by land. I have settled Sir Francis Crane for my Steenie's business, and I am this day to speak with Fotherby, and by my next, Steenie shall have an account both of his business, and of Kitt's* preferment, and supply in means; but Sir Francis Crane desires to know if my Baby will have him to hasten the making of that suit of tapestry that he commanded him.

* Duke of Buckingham's brother.

I have

I have written three consolatory letters already to Kate †, and received one fine letter from Kate; I have also written one to Sue ‡, but your poor old Dad is lamer than ever he was, both of his right knee and foot, and writes all this out of his naked bed; God Almighty blefs you both my sweet boys, and fend you a safe, happy return. But I must command my Baby to hasten Steenie home, how soon ye can be assured of the time of your home-coming with your mistress, for, without his presence, things cannot be prepared here; and so God blefs you again and again.

JAMES I.
1622-3.

JAMES R.

The Prince and Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

ON Friday last we arrived here at 5 o'clock at night both in perfect health; the cause which we advertise you of it no sooner was, that we knew you would be glad to hear as well of the manner of our reception, as of our arrival. First, we resolved to discover the woer, because, upon the speedy opening of the ports, we found posts making such haste after us, that we knew it would be discovered within twelve hours after, and better we had the thanks of it, than a postilion. The next morning we sent for Gondemar, who went presently to the Condé of Olivares, and as speedily got me your Dog Steenie, a private audience of the King; when I was to return back to my lodging, the Condé of Olivares himself alone would accompany me back again to salute the Prince in the King's name. The next day we had a private visit of the King, the Queen, the Infanta, Don Carlos, and the Cardinal, in the sight of all the world, and I may call it a private obligation hidden from no body; for there was the Pope's Nuncio, the Emperor's Ambassador, the French, and all the streets filled with guards and other people: be-

March 10th.

† Wife to the Duke of Buckingham.

‡ Sister to the Duke of Buckingham.

JAMES I.
1622-3.

fore the King's coach went the best of the Nobility, after followed all the Ladies of the Court: we sat in an invisible coach, because nobody was suffered to take notice of it, though seen by all the world: in this form they passed three times by us, but before we could get away, the Condé of Olivares came into our coach and conveyed us home, where he told us the King longed and died for want of a nearer sight of our woer. First, he took me in his coach to go to the King; we found him walking in the streets, with his cloak thrown over his face, and a sword and buckler by his side; he leaped into the coach, and away he came to find the woer in another place appointed, where there passed much kindness and compliment one to another. You may judge by this, how sensible this King is of your son's journey, and if we can either judge by outward shows, or general speeches, we have reason to condemn your Ambassadors for rather writing too sparingly than too much. To conclude, we find the Condé Olivares so overvaluing of our journey, that he is so full of real courtesy, that we can do no less than beseech your Majesty to write the kindest letter of thanks and acknowledgment you can unto him: he said no later to us than this morning, that if the Pope would not give a dispensation for a wife, they would give the Infanta to thy son's Baby, as his wench, and hath this day written to the Cardinal Lodovicio, the Pope's nephew, that the King of England hath put such an obligation upon this King, in sending his son hither, that he intreats him to make haste of the dispensation, for he can deny nothing that is in his kingdom. We must hold you thus much longer to tell you, the Pope's Nuncio works as maliciously, and as actively as he can against us, but receives such rude answers, that we hope he will be soon weary on't: we make this collection of that the Pope will be very loth to grant a dispensation, which, if he will not do, then we would gladly have your directions how far we may engage you in * the acknow-

* When Steenie writ this he was not in his right mind, as it would have been a breach of all the laws against the Pope's power.

ledgment

ledgment of the Pope's special power, for we almost find, if you will be contented to acknowledge the Pope, chief head under Christ, that the match will be made without him. So craving your blessing, we rest

JAMES I.
1622-3.

Your Majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,
CHARLES.

Your humble slave and dog,

Madrid the 10th of
March 1623.

STEENIE.

For the best of fathers and masters.

The Prince and Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

WE are now got into Spain, free from harm of falls, in as perfect health as when we parted, and undiscovered by any Monsieur. We met Gressie a post beyond Bayonne, we saucily opened your letters, and found nothing either in that or any other, which we could understand without a cypher, that hath made us repent our journey; but by the contrary, we find nothing but particulars hastened, and your business so slowly advanced, that we think ourselves happy that we have begun it so soon; for yet the temporal articles are not concluded, nor will not be, till the dispensation comes, which may be God knows when, and when that time shall come, they beg twenty days to conceal it, upon pretext of making preparations: this bearer's errand was answered by our journey thither, yet we have thought it fit he should go forward to bring you certain news of your boys, that craves your blessing, and rests

Your Majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,
CHARLES.

And your humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

For the King.

3 F 2

King

JAMES I.

1622-3.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My sweet Boys;

March 15.

GOD blefs you for the welcome cordial that Grifley brought me from you yesterday. The Spanish Ambaffador, and Boifchotte, from the Archdutchefs, are now agreed with me, for the depofiting of Frankendale in the King of Spain and the Archdutchefs's hands, without any mention of my treating with the Emperor, for that cannot now be done with my honour, he having thrice broken all his promifes unto me: all the other conditions are very reafonable, but I hear a whispering ftill, that the King of Spain would have a match between my grand-child and the Emperor's daughter; but if either that way, or any other, this bufinefs be brought to a good end, it muft now be done by the King of Spain's mediation betwixt the Emperor and me, whom he hath fo far wronged and neglected, whereas before I did mediate the Emperor and my fon-in-law. As to my Baby's own bufinefs, I find by Bristol's cyphered letter, two points like to be ftucken at, that ye muft labour to help by all the means ye can. The one is a long delay of finifhing the marriage; for that point, I doubt not but you will spur it on faft enough, for though there is no other inconvenient in it, but the danger of your life, by the coming on of the heats, I think they have reafon there, if they love themfelves, to wifh you and yours rather to fucceed unto me, than my daughter and her children; but for this point, I know my fweet Goffip Steenie will spur and gall them as faft as he did the poft horfes in France. The other point is, that they would, if not leffen, at leaft protract the terms for payment of the dowry; this were a bafe thing, and a breach of their promife made many years ago, which the Condé of Gondemar, I am fure, will bear witnefs unto me, and if your travel thither have not earned it, as they fay, God fend

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send that ever it do me or you good. I hear they there would be at JAMES I.
1622-3.
a general peace, and comprehend also the Low Countries; for my part, so that the business of the Palatinate were at a good end, I wish it were so; but if the business of your match be once fully concluded, I would be glad, sweet Gossip, that ye feel their pulses anent the thing ye know concerning Holland*, which will be fittest for you to sound, being my Admiral; but I am ashamed to tell you, by the way, how many prizes belonging to you, your knavish and unthankful sea captains have meddled with, and shared amongst themselves, which are not so few as three or four, as John Coote informs me, but within few days ye shall, with God's grace, have a good account of that business. In the mean time, I have fully satisfied the French Ambassador of my Baby's care to discharge honestly his promise unto him. I send this post in haste, for preparing and facilitating the passage from the coast of Spain to the court thereof, for my Baby's servants and baggage, my ship being now ready to make sail, and yet will I write with her again within two or three days, with grace of God, this being the sixth letter I have written to you two, five to Kate, two to Sue, and one to my mother Steenie, and all with my own hand. And thus God bless you both, my sweet boys, and grant you, after a successful journey, a happy and joyful return to your dear Dad.

Newmarket, the
15th of March.

JAMES R.

* This must have been some hostile act against the Dutch.

King

JAMES I
1622-3.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My sweet Boys,

March 17.

I WRITE this now, my seventh letter, unto you, upon the 17th of March, sent in my ship called the Adventure, to my two boys adventurers, whom God ever blefs. And now to begin with him, a *Jove principium*, I have sent you my Baby, two of your chaplains fittest for this purpose, Mawe and Wrenn, together, with all stuff and ornaments fit for the service of God. I have fully instructed them, so as all their behaviour and service shall, I hope, prove decent, and agreeable to the purity of the primitive church, and yet as near the Roman form as can lawfully be done, for it hath ever been my way to go with the church of Rome *usque ad aras*. All the particularities hereof I remit to the relation of your before named chaplains. I send you also your robes of the order, which ye must not forget to wear upon St. George's day, and dine together in them, if they can come in time, which I pray God they may, for it will be a goodly sight for the Spaniards to see my two boys dine in them: I send you also the jewels as I promised, some of mine and such of yours, I mean both of you, as are worthy the sending. For my Baby's presenting his mistress, I send him an old double cross of Lorrain, not so rich as ancient, and yet not contemptible for the value; a good looking-glass, with my picture in it, to be hung at her girdle, which ye must tell her ye have caused it so to be enchanted by art magic, as whensoever she shall be pleased to look in it, she shall see the fairest Lady that either her brother or your father's dominions can afford; ye shall present her with two fair long diamonds, set like an anchor, and a fair pendant diamond hanging at them; ye shall give her a goodly rope of pearls; ye shall give her a carquant or collar, thirteen great balls rubies, and thirteen knots

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or conquests of pearls, and ye shall give her a head-dressing of two and twenty great pear pearls; and ye shall give her three goodly peak pendants diamonds, whereof the biggest to be worn at a needle on the midst of her forehead, and one in every ear; and for my Baby's own wearing, ye have two good jewels of your own, your round broach of diamonds, and your triangle diamond with the great round pearl; and I send you for your wearing, the three brethren, that ye know full well, but newly set, and the mirrour of France, the fellow of the Portugal diamond, which I would wish you to wear alone in your hat, with a little black feather; ye have also good diamond buttons of your own, to be set to a doublet, or jerkin. As for your I, it may serve for a present to a Don. As for thee, my sweet Gossip, I send thee a fair table diamond, which I would once have given thee before, if thou would have taken it, for wearing in thy hat, or where thou pleases; and if my Baby will spare thee the two long diamonds in form of an anchor, with the pendant diamond, it were fit for an Admiral to wear, and he hath enough better jewels for his mistress, though he's of thine own thy good old jewel, thy three pindars diamonds, the picture-case I gave Kate, and the great diamond chain I gave her, who would have sent thee the least pin she had, if I had not staid her. If my Baby will not spare the anchor from his mistress, he may well lend thee his round broach to wear, and yet he shall have jewels to wear in his hat, for three great days. And now for the form of my Baby's presenting of his jewels to his mistress, I leave that to himself, with Steenie's advice, and my Lord of Bristol's; only I would not have them presented all at once, but at the more sundry times the better, and I would have the rarest and richest kept hindmost. I have also sent four other crosses, of meaner value, with a great pointed diamond in a ring, which will save charges in presents to Dons, according to their quality; but I will send with the fleet, divers other

JAMES I.
1622-3.

JAMES I.
1622 3.

jewels for presents, for saving of charges, whereof we have too much need; for till my Baby's coming away, there will be no need of giving of presents to any but to her. Thus you see, how, as long as I want the sweet comfort of my boys conversation, I am forced, yea, and delight to converse with them by long letters. God bless you both, my sweet boys, and send you, after a successful journey, a joyful and happy return in the arms of your dear Dad.

JAMES R.

* From Newmarket, on St. Patrick's day, who, of old, was too well patronized in the country you are in.

The Prince and Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

1623.
March 17.

THAT your Majesty may be the more particularly informed of all, we will observe our former order, to begin still where we left, which was, we think, at the King's private visit in the night. The next day, your Baby desired to kiss his hands privately in the palace, which was granted, and thus performed. First, the King would not suffer him to come to his chamber, but met him at the stair foot, then entered into the coach, and walked into his park. The greatest matter that past between them, at that time, was compliments, and particular questions of our journey, then, by force, he would needs convey him half-way home, in which doing, they were both almost overthrown in brick pits. Two days after, we met with his Majesty again in his park, with his two brothers; they spent

* There cannot be a stronger proof of the trifling, gossiping turn of King James, than this letter; and one is not surpris'd, that, when his son and his favourite returned home, they did what they pleased.

their

their time in seeing his men kill partridges flying, and conies running, with a gun. Yesterday, being Sunday, your Baby went to a monastery called St. Jeronimo's, to dinner, which stands a little out of the town. After dinner came all the Counsellors in order, to welcome your Baby; then came the King himself, with all his nobility, and made their entry, with as great triumph as could be, where he forced your Baby to ride on his right hand, which he observes always; this entry was made, just as when the Kings of Castile come first to the crown: all prisoners set at liberty, and no office nor matters of grace falls, but is put into your Baby's hands, to dispose. We trouble your Majesty more particularly with these things of ceremony, that you may be better able to guide yourself towards this nobleman, who is sent of purpose to advertise you of your son's safe arrival here, for sooner than he was received in the palace, they took no notice of his coming. We had almost forgotten to tell you, that the first thing they did at their arrival into the palace, was the visiting of the Queen, where grew a quarrel between your Baby and Lady, for want of a salutation; but your dog's opinion is, that this is an artificial forced quarrel, to beget hereafter the greater kindness.

For our many and chief business, we find them by outward shows, as desirous of it as ourselves, yet are they hankering upon a conversion; for they say, that there can be no firm friendship without union in religion, but put no question in bestowing their sister, and we put the other quite out of question, because neither our conscience nor the time serves for it, and because we will not implicitly rely upon them. For fear of delays (which we account the worst denial), we intend to send, with all speed, Mihill Andros, to come to bring us certain word from Gage, how he finds our business prosper there, according to which we will guide ourselves. Yet ever resolving to guide ourselves by your directions, so craving your blessing we end.

Your Majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

JAMES I.
1623.

JAMES I.
1623.

* *I beseech your Majesty advise as little with your Council in these busineses as you can.* I hope in writing jointly as we do, we please you best, for I assure your Majesty, it is not for saving pains. This King did intreat me to send your Majesty a great recautho, in his name (which is a compliment), for which, in my poor opinion, it will not be amiss for your Majesty to write him a letter of thanks, for all the favours he has done me since I came hither, with that of the Condé of Olivares.

CHARLES.

Madrid,
the 17th of March 1623.

Your Majesty's humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

THE chiefest advertisement of all we omitted in our other letter, which was to let you know how we like your daughter, his wife, and my lady mistress: without flattery, I think there is not a sweeter creature in the world. Baby Charles himself is so touched at the heart, that he confesses all he ever yet saw, is nothing to her, and swears, that if he want her, there shall be blows. I shall lose no time in hastening their conjunction, in which I shall please him, her, you, and myself most of all, in thereby getting liberty to make the speedier haste to lay myself at your feet; for never none longed more to be in the arms of his Mistress. So craving your blessing I end.

Your humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

* This is in the Prince's own hand, and so is the date.

I have

I have inclosed two or three letters of the Condé of Olivares, to JAMES I.
1623.
Gondemar, whereby you will judge of his kind carefulness of your
son.

For the best of Masters.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My sweet Boys,

GOD bleſs you both, and reward you for the comfortable news March 25.

I received from you yeſterday (which was my coronation day), in place of a tilting; and God bleſs thee, my ſweet Goſſip, for thy little letter all full of comfort. I have written a letter to the Condé d'Olivares, as both of you deſired me, as full of thanks and kindneſs as can be deviſed, and indeed he well deſerves; but in the end of your letter, ye put in a cooling card, aneat the Nuncio's averſeneſs to this buſineſs, and that thereby ye collect, that the Pope will likewiſe be averſe; but firſt ye muſt remember, that in Spain they never put doubt of the granting of the diſpenſation; that themſelves did ſet down the ſpiritual conditions, which I fully agreed unto, and by them were they ſent to Rome, and the Conſulto there concluded, that the Pope might, nay ought, for the weal of Chriſtendom, grant a diſpenſation upon theſe conditions; theſe things may juſtly be laid before them; but I know not what ye mean by my acknowledging the Pope's ſpiritual ſupremacy. I am ſure ye would not have me renounce my religion for all the world; but all that I can gueſs at your meaning is, that it may be ye have an alluſion to a paſſage in my book againſt Bellarmine, where I offer, if the Pope would quit his godhead, and uſurping over Kings, to acknowledge him for the Chief Biſhop, to which all appeals of churchmen ought

JAMES I.
1623.

to lie *en dernier resort**; the very words I send you here inclosed, and that is the farthest that my conscience will permit me to go upon this point; for I am not a Monsieur who can shift his religion as easily as he can shift his shirt, when he cometh from tennis.

I have no more to say in this, but God bless you, my sweet Baby, and send him good fortune in his wooing, to the comfort of his old father, who cannot be happy but in him. My ship is ready to make sail, and only stays for a fair wind, God send it her; but I have, for the honour of England, curtailed the train that goes by sea, of a number of rascals. And my sweet Steenie Gossip, I must tell thee, that Kate was a little sick within these four or five days of a head-ach, and the next morning, after a little casting, was well again. I hope it is a good sign, that I shall shortly be a gossip over again, for I must be thy perpetual gossip; but the poor fool Kate, hath, by importunity, gotten leave of me, to send thee both her rich chains; and this is now the eighth letter I have written to my two boys, and six to Kate. God send me still more and more comfortable news of you both, till I may have a joyful, comfortable, and happy meeting with you, and that my Baby may bring home a fair lady with him, as this is written upon our Lady-day.

JAMES, R.

* And for myself, if that were yet the question, I would with all my heart give my consent, that the Bishop of Rome should have the first seat. I being a western King, would go with the Patriarch of the West. And for his temporal principality over the Signiory of Rome, I do not quarrel it neither; let him, in God's name, be *primus episcopus inter omnes episcopos, et princeps episcoporum*, so it be no other-wise but as St. Peter was *princeps apostolorum*.

JAMES I.
1623.*The Prince and the Duke to King James.*

Dear Dad and Gossip,

ACCORDING to our promise in our last, we write to you this March 27.
day again, for our post is not yet parted, and that this may not altogether be empty, we think it not amiss to assure you, that neither in spiritual nor temporal things, there is any thing preft upon us more than is already agreed upon; fain would they, in this time of expecting the dispensation, have treated upon the ends and effects of friendship, but we have avoided it with so many forcible arguments, that they now rest satisfied. They were likewise in hope of a conversion of us both, but now excuses are more studied than reasons for it, though they say their loves shall ever make them wish it. To conclude; we never saw the business in a better way than now it is. Therefore we humbly beseech you, lose no time in hastening the ships, that we may make the more haste to beg that personally, which now we do by letter, your blessing.

Your Majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Madrid, the 27th
of March 1623.

Your Majesty's humble slave and dog.

STEENIE.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My sweet Boys,

GOD ever bless, and thank you for your last so comfortable letters; it is an ease to my heart now that I am sure you have received some of my letters. As for the fleet, that should, with
God's

JAMES I.
1623.

God's grace, bring my Baby home; they are in far greater readiness than you could have believed, for they will be ready to make sail before the first of May, if need were; and the smallest of six, besides the two that go for Steenie, are between five and six hundred tons, their names and burden, Dick Grame shall bring you, who is to follow two days hence; it is therefore now your promise to advertise by the next post, how soon ye would have them to make sail, for the charge and trouble will be infinite, if their equipage stay long aboard, consuming victuals, and making the ships to stink. My Gossip shall come home in the George, and the Antelope wait upon him, and of their readiness Dick Grame will bring you word. The Treasurer* likewise made that money ready, which my Baby desired: I must bear him witness, he spares not to engage himself, and all he is worth, for the business.

The 10th of April.

JAMES, R.

The Prince and Duke to King James.

April 22.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

WE are sorry that we are not able to continue the advertisement of the dispensation's arrival: it is certainly granted, and is as certainly upon the way hither, and although clogged with some new condition, yet such as we hope with ease to remove. They are these: two years more to the education of the children; no other oath to be ministered to the Roman catholic subjects, than that which is given to the Infanta's servants, and that they may all have free access to her church. We hope in granting the first, yet mak-

* Cranfield Earl of Middlesex.

ing it hard, we shall not only facilitate the other two conditions, but, JAMES I.
1623.
in a little time hereafter, bring more years back again with the two; to this we will both recommend secrecy here, and to you there. If we receive your directions in time to this, we will punctually follow them. To the second, our answer will be, the oath was made by act of parliament, and that you cannot abrogate it, without the whole consent of your people. In the last, we hope to let them see, as it will bring but a pester and an inconvenience to the Infanta herself, so it will less satisfy the Catholics, because it will make the act more public, and less useful to their ends, than to have the exercises of their consciences freely, in their own houses; for all meeting in one centre, the number will seem greater, and so make the State jealous, and consequently make their security more uncertain, this being no less than in covered words, to ask liberty of conscience, which you have neither mind nor power to grant; many other reasons we have, and so powerful, that we make neither question to speed the business, nor to end it to your own liking; which sweet Jesus grant, and your blessing to

Your Majesty's humble and obedient son and servant.

CHARLES.

Madrid,
the 22d of April 1623.

Your Majesty's humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

JAMES I.
1623.*The Prince and Duke to King James.*

Dear Dad and Gossip.

April 27th.

MIHILL Andros is now come back from Rome, but the Dispensation got hither before him: that you may the better judge of the conditions it is clogged with, we have sent you Gage's letters; this comfort yourself with, that we will not be long before we get forth of this labyrinth, wherein we have been entangled these many years: we beseech your Majesty be secret in the conditions, and be assured we will yield to nothing, but what you may perform, both with your honour and conscience: if you should not keep them so, it will beget dispute, censures, and conclusions there to our prejudice. The chief end of sending this post is to tell you, that the Groyne is resolved on, to be the fittest port for your ships, and us here; wherefore we pray your Majesty to make no delay, but to send them with all speed thither. Sir, I Steenie am commanded by my wife, to trouble you with a deed of honour and charity, to have a care of the widow, mistress Murrey, whom you promised, in her husband's time, to provide for, and her seven children. We have been both much comforted with the return of Dick Grame, who hath made to me your Dog in particular, such a relation of your Majesty's constant care and love of me, in my absence, that now I shall follow your service with a chearful heart, though not with a more trustful nor affectionate one; for he hath told me your carriage hath been such, that it hath calmed the mad malice of all my enemies, which was no small grief to me to hear they were of so great a number; and for that honour *, which your Majesty tells me my Lord Treasurer hath been an importunate suitor for, though not a secret one, give

* A Dukedom.

me leave, out of the pride of my heart to say, whensoever any thing proceeds otherwise than immediately from your own heart and affection, I shall kiss it, and lay it down at your feet again, for hitherto you have accustomed me to no other. Out of a certain report here, that you had done it, I sent Edward Clarke purposely to intreat you to undo it, or to add one more for my sake; but now that it is undone, which I thank God heartily for, I beseech your Majesty humbly on my knees to let it remain so, till I have the happiness to speak with yourself, which is infinitely desired by your two boys that crave your blessing.

JAMES I.
1623.

P. S. By Prince Charles.

We send this post with such speed, that we have no time to write this better.

Your Majesty's humble and obedient
son and servant,

Madrid,
the 27th of April, 1623.

CHARLES.

Prince Charles to King James.

S I R,

I DO find, that if I have not somewhat under your Majesty's hand to show, whereby that ye engage yourself to do whatsoever I shall promise in your name, that it will retard the business a great while; wherefore I humbly beseech your Majesty to send me a warrant to this effect:

April 29th

We do hereby promise, by the word of a King, that whatsoever you our son shall promise in our name, we shall punctually perform.

3 H

Sir,

JAMES I.
1623.

Sir, I confesse that this is an ample trust that I desire, and if it were not mere necessity, I should not be so bold, yet I hope your Majesty shall never repent you of any trust you put upon

Your Majesty's humble and obedient
son and servant,

Madrid,
the 29th of April, 1623.

CHARLES.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

April 29th.

THIS letter of your son's is written out of an extraordinary desire to be soon with you again; he thinks if you sign thus much, though they would be glad (which yet he doth not discover) to make any farther delay, this will disappoint them: the discretion of your Baby you need not doubt, and for the faith of myself, I shall sooner lose life, than in the least kind break it. And so in haste I crave your blessing *.

Your Majesty's most humble
slave and dog,

Madrid,
the 29th of April, 1623.

STEENIE.

* There cannot be a stronger proof of the reliance which the Prince and the favourite had on the King's weakness, than these two letters.

JAMES I.
1623.*King James to the Prince and Duke.*

My sweet Boys,

YESTERDAY in the afternoon I received two packets from you after my coming hither, by two several posts, and the day before I wrote to you my opinion from Theobald's, anent the three conditions annexed to the dispensation: I now send you, my Baby, here inclosed, the power you desire. It were a strange trust that I would refuse to put upon my only son, and upon my best servant. I know such two ye are, will never promise in my name, but what may stand with my conscience, honour, and safety, and all these I do fully trust with any one of you two: my former letter will show you my conceit, and now I put the full power in your hands, with God's blessing on you both, praying him still, that after a happy success there, ye may speedily and happily return, and light in the arms of your dear Dad.

JAMES, R.

Greenwich,
the 11th of May, 1623.

The Prince and Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

THE Pope having written a courteous letter to me your Baby, I have been bold to write him an answer, without your Majesty's leave, the copy whereof is here inclosed: we make no doubt but to have the opinions of these busily Divines reversed (for already the Condé of Olivares hath put out ten of the worst), so your Majesty will be pleased to begin to put in execution the favour towards your

June 6th.

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Roman

JAMES I.
1623.

Roman Catholic subjects, that ye will be bound to do by your oath, as soon as the Infanta comes over, which we hope you will do for the hastening of us home, with this protestation to reverse all, if there be any delay of the marriage. We send you here the articles as they are to go, the oaths private and public, that you and your Baby are to take, with the Councils', wherein, if you scare at the least clause of your private oath (where you promise that the Parliament shall revoke all the penal laws against the Papists within three years) we sought good to tell your Majesty our opinions, which is, that if you think you may do it in that time (which we think you may), if you do your best, although it take not effect, you have not broken your word, for this promise is only as a security that you will do your best. The Spanish Ambassador, for respect of the Pope, will present unto you, the articles as they came from Rome; as likewise for to require, that the delivery of the Infanta may be deferred till the Spring: his commission is to press for this, but to be satisfied with what we have yielded to here. We both humbly beg of your Majesty, that you will confirm these articles soon, and press earnestly for our speedy return. So craving your blessings we rest,

Your Majesty's humble and obedient
son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your Majesty's most humble
slave and dog,

STEENIE.

JAMES I.
1623.*King James to the Prince and Duke.*

My sweet Boys,

YOUR letter by Cottington, hath stricken me dead; I fear it shall very much shorten my days, and I am the more perplexed that I know not how to satisfy the people's expectation here, neither know I what to say to our Council, for the fleet that staid upon a wind this fortnight. Rutland, and all aboard must now be staid, and I know not what reason I shall pretend for the doing of it *, but as for my advice and directions that ye crave, in case they will not alter their decree, it is in a word, to come speedily away, and if ye can get leave, and give over all treaty. And this I speak without respect of any security they can offer you, except ye never look to see your old Dad again, whom I fear ye shall never see, if you see him not before Winter: Alas, I now repent me fore, that ever I suffered you to go away. I care for Match, nor nothing, so I may once have you in my arms again; God grant it, God grant it, God grant it, amen, amen, amen. I protest ye shall be as heartily welcome, as if ye had done all things ye went for, so that I may once have you in my arms again, and God bless you both, my only sweet son, and my only best sweet servant, and let me hear from you quickly with all speed, as ye love my life; and so God send you a happy and joyful meeting in the arms of your dear Dad.

June 14th.

JAMES, R.

From Greenwich, the 14th
of June, 1623.

* Here follow five lines blotted so as not to be read.

JAMES I.
1623.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

June 26.

THOUGH late, yet at last, we have gotten the articles drawn up in form, which we sent you by the Lord Rochford, without any new addition or alteration. The foolery of the Condé of Olivares hath been cause of this long delay, who would wilfully against thee have pulled it out of the Junto's and Council's hands, and put it into a wrangling lawyer's, a favourite of his, who, like himself, had not only put it into an odious form, but had slipped in a multitude of new, unreasonable, undemanded, and ungranted conditions, which the Council yielded unto, merely out of fear; for when we met with the Junto, they did not make one answer to any of our objections, but confessed, with blushing faces, we had more than reason of our sides; and concluded with us, that the same oath should serve, which passed between Queen Mary and King Philip, being put to the end of every article which is to be sworn to. By this you may a little guess with what favour they proceed with us, first, delaying us as long as possibly they can, then, when things are concluded of, they throw in new particulars, in hope they will pass, out of our desire to make haste; but when our business is done, we shall joy in it the more that we have overcome so many difficulties; in the mean time we expect pity at your hands. But, for the love of God, and our business, let nothing fall from you to discover any thing of this, and comfort yourself that all things will end well, to your contentment and honour. Our return now, will depend on your quick dispatch of these; for we thank God we find the heats such here, as we may very well travel both evenings and mornings. The Divines have not yet recalled their sentence, but the Condé tells us, he hath converted very many of them, yet keeps his old form,
in

in giving us no hope of any thing, till the business speaks it itself. JAMES I.
1623.
But we dare say they dare not break it upon this, nor (we think) upon any other, except the affairs of Christendom should smile strangely upon them, which will at all times, and in all cases, guide them. So craving your blessing we end.

S I R,

In the midst of our serious business, little pretty Toby Matthews comes to intreat us to deliver this letter to your Majesty, which is, as he calls it, a picture of the Infanta's, drawn in black and white. We pray you let none laugh at it but yourself, and honest Kate; he thinks he has hit the nail of the head, but you will find it the foolishlest thing that ever you saw.

Your Majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Madrid,
the 26th of June, 1623.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossp,

OUR other letter was written before William Crofts came; he hath brought with him letters to our heart's desire; we have thus far made use of them already. This morning we sent for the Condé of Olivares, and, with a sad countenance, told him of your peremptory command, intreating him in the kindest manner we could, to give us his advice how we might comply with this, and not destroy the business. His answer was, that there was two good

June 27.

JAMES I.
1623.

ways to do the business, and one ill one; the two good ones was, either with your Baby's conversion, or to do it with trust, putting all things freely, with the Infanta, into our hands; the ill one was, to bargain, and stick upon conditions as long as they could. As for the first, we absolutely rejected it, and for the second, he confessed, if he were King, he would do it, and, as he is, it lay in his power to do it; but he cast many doubts lest he should hereafter suffer for it, if it should not succeed; the last he confessed impossible, since your command was so peremptory. To conclude, he left us with a promise to consider of it, and when I, your dog, conveyed him to the door, he bad me cheer up my heart, and your Baby's both. Our opinion is, that the longest time we can stay here, will be a month, and not that neither, without bringing the Infanta with us. If we find not ourselves assured of that, look for us sooner. Whether of these resolutions be taken, you shall hear from us shortly, that you may in time accordingly give order for the fleet. We must once again intreat your Majesty to make all the haste you can, to return these papers confirmed, and in the mean time to give order for the execution of all these things, and to let us here know so much.

Sir, let the worst that can come, we make no doubt but to be with you before you end your progress; therefore we intreat you to take comfort, for in your health depends all our happiness. So craving your blessing we end.

I your Majesty's Dog beseecheth you to tell Cottington that I love him, and I pray you to do the like, for he is an honest man and deserves it, or else call me knave.

Your Majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Madrid,
the 27th of June, 1623.

JAMES I.
1623.

Duke of Buckingham to Secretary Conway.

Dear Friend,

I PRAY you deliver this inclosed to his Majesty: it contains no more than that on Wednesday at the farthest, we shall have our last answer. I hope it will be good; if it be not, we shall be soon with you, so farewell. June 29.

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Madrid,
the 29th of June, 1623.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

BY Killegrew's dispatch, you understand how we intreated the Condé of Olivares to give us his advice how we might comply with your peremptory command, and not destroy that business our hearts was so much set on; to give an answer to which he required some time. The next day, at night, we sent for him again, and pressed him for his opinion and counsel; to which he answered, on Monday the Divines should meet and give in their opinions, and upon Tuesday or Wednesday at the farthest, his Majesty should send us his last and final answer; but perceiving that we all looked sadly, and was at a resolution to return speedily upon it, if it were not to your Majesty's satisfaction and ours, which could not be, except they resolved presently to give her without any new or farther conditions, he concluded, that he would do his best, and bid us be of good comfort, for he was in no doubt himself but all would end well. This we have thought good to advertise your Majesty of, to the end

JAMES I.
1623. you may not grieve yourself, nor think the time long; and considering till our coming, nothing was done, or intended, you may be the better satisfied with this our stay. They shall no sooner declare themselves to us, but you shall have it; so we crave your blessing, and end.

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Madrid, the 29th of
June, 1623.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

July 15.

YOU have understood by this time, how we were forced to resort to your last letter, sent to us by Crofts: they continue still the same expressions of joy which we then advertised you of. We have thought it fit again, at this time, to intreat you to put all those things in present execution, in the favour of your Roman Catholic subjects, that you're bound hereafter to do by the articles; for we are in good hope, if that be, to bring the Infanta at Michaelmas with us. We have given them these reasons to persuade them to it; the lengthening of your Majesty's days; the honour of your son; the satisfaction of your whole people in general; and the easier and sooner performance of what is promised, with the charge you have been this year already at, and how much it will be increased more by her stay till the Spring. We have showed them three ways to do it; first, by alledging the Infanta's love to your son, which will serve to take off the blame of the act from the Condé of Olivares, if the people should dislike it, which he seems much to fear, and for which,

which, we find, he hath little reason; but because he gives so ill, and so unlikely a reason, we philosophy upon the worst on his part, than to make another trial with the Junto of Divines, where they may make use of the advertisement they received last, concerning the execution, from their own Ambassadors; but that, I hope, will be better strengthened by what they shall write hereafter; and lastly, while this is working, to send to Rome, to persuade the Pope to dispense with this King's oath, since your Majesty, your son, and your Council, hath agreed to that, for which that oath was required.

JAMES I.
1623.

Sir, We do not know whether this will take effect or not; if it do not, we will be the sooner with you; we know you will think a little more time will be well spent to bring her with us, when, by that means, we may upon equaller terms treat with them of other things. Do your best there, and we will not fail of ours here. You shall do well to see the Ambassadors letters, and send them in your own packets. Of all this we must intreat you to speak nothing, for if you do, our labour will be the harder here, and when it shall be hoped there, and not take effect, they will be the more discontented. I your Baby have, since this conclusion, been with my mistress, and she sits publickly with me at the plays, and within these two or three days shall take place of the Queen, as Princess of England. I your Dog, have also had a visit of her, to deliver your letter, and to give her the *par bien* of this conclusion. As this prospers, you shall hear from time to time. So we crave your blessing, and end.

Your Majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Madrid,
the 15th of July, 1623.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

JAMES I.
1623.*King James to the Prince and Duke.*

July 21.

My sweet Boys,

EVEN as I was going yesterday in the evening to the Ambassador's to take my private oath, having taken the public, before noon, with great solemnity, Andover came stepping in at the door like a ghost, and delivered me your letters. Since it can be no better I must be contented; but this course is both a dishonour to me, and double charges, if I must send two fleets; but if they will not send her till March, let them, in God's name, send her by their own fleet. The Ambassadors speak broadly against this delay, and plainly say that it is senseless, and swear they will write earnestly with Cottington, to persuade the change of that resolution; but, if no better may be, do ye hasten your business, the fleet shall be at you so soon as wind and weather can serve, and this bearer will bring you the power to treat for the Palatinate, and the matter of Holland; and, sweet Baby, go on with the contract, and the best assurance ye can get of sending her next year; but, upon my blessing, lie not with her in Spain, except ye be sure to bring her with you, and forget not to make them to keep their former conditions anent the portion, otherwise both my Baby and I are bankrupts for ever. And now I must tell you miracles; our great Primate* hath behaved himself wonderful well in this business, insomuch as my Lord Keeper† says, he will love him the better while he lives for it; and my Lord Chamberlain hath gone beyond all the Council, in clear and honest dealing in this business; as all other things I remit to the sufficiency of this bearer, whom Steenie hath so earnestly recommended unto me. And so God bless you, my sweet children, and send you a happy, joyful, and speedy return in the arms of your dear Dad. Amen.

Whitehall,
the 21st of July, 1623.

JAMES, R.

* Abbot.

† Williams.

JAMES I.
1623.*Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham.*

Gracious Patron,

VOUCHSAFE that first with which I am fullest, my unexpressible thankfulness for the honour and favour of your letter by the Lord of Andover, who arrived to his Majesty's presence on Sunday the 20th of July, unheard of till he presented himself, in the withdrawing chamber, to his Majesty. His Lordship delivered the packet to the hands of his Majesty, who, when he had read the letters, gave them to Sir Francis Cottington, and afterwards gave me your Grace's directed to me, which I received with as much joy, and more humble acknowledgement, than ever I applied to words directed from the hands of a mistress. And to the business, your letters came as seasonably; his Majesty having feasted the Ambassadors, the Lords of the Council having received his Majesty's warrant under the Great Seal, and taken their oaths without dispute, so many as was there; the Lord Chamberlain being then extremely ill of the stone, and the Lord Brooke so too, the Earl of Arundel gone into Flanders to visit his son then sick there, Zouch at Dover, Southampton in the country, Sir Robert Naunton at his house not called.

July 23d.

His Majesty called, into his bed-chamber, Mr. Secretary Calvert, Cottington, and myself, communicated to us the contents of your letters, by which appeared the condition of the affairs with you, and what you required hence. The contentment began there, which quickly ran through Court and city, and will fly through the kingdom, that his Highness and your Grace would shortly be at home, a point much questioned and feared. All you expected hence was in such forwardness, as there was not much to be said to it. The deliberations were the staying of that part of the fleet last designed into Scotland, and sending them, with the rest, to the port you desired (St Anderas); and how to move the Spanish Ambassadors to write, that the favour intended to the Roman Catholics was already put in execution;

JAMES I.
1623.

cution; which seemed not uneasy, the Council having advanced so far, and his Majesty attending only the Ambassadors reposing a little, before he passed to his part. The Ambassadors being brought from their rooms of rest unto the lodging next to the stone table chamber, his Majesty found them there, and they having with them only their priest, Mr. Secretary Calvert, Sir Francis Cottington, and myself were called in, and had the honour to be witnesses to as dainty an introduction to a business of that consequence as ever I heard, which freely foreshowed the impossibilities of the exact performance of the literal part concerning the Parliament, but in the sense of doing his best; and in the understanding of that part, which gives freedom and immunity to the Roman Catholics from all laws. His Majesty's reading on that text, *saving in violent cases, according to reason of state*, to that part the Ambassador gave all approbation; but, gently and modestly, by acknowledging his Majesty's absolute power, seemed to call for and depend upon satisfaction in that point. But all those passages for your more ease, I leave them to Sir Francis Cottington's more clear relation. Upon his Majesty's motion for the Ambassadors letters into Spain, that favour to the Roman Catholics was already put into execution, they faintly accorded; but withal prayed to have some acts done, which might be public and authentical.

His Majesty accorded that, and solemnly satisfied all on his part to be done.

The Ambassadors took their leaves, contented to the full. And although greater astonishment could not surprize men, than the contemplation of the issue of these last actions; yet, conceiving the point to be the redemption and satisfaction of the Prince, they are comforted, beyond the possibility of their discourse, by the confidence they have of the noble, constant, pious resolutions of his Highness and your Grace; of which the best sort of the people are not only very full, but withal well assured concerning religion.

Notwithstanding all the fearful rumours spread and signs conceived, it will truly be a work worthy of the Prince and yourself, to make

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make your return as soon as possible, and either to bring the Princess with you, or the Prince as free as his affection, and the general past demonstration, will admit; if the necessity of the affairs, or the power of destiny, will have it otherwise, there is nothing but a sad submission. But for my part, there is nothing that I cannot hope from the venture and good fortune of his Highness and your Grace.

JAMES I.
1623.

After resolution taken by his Majesty to hasten the Lord of Rutland to you with the fleet, and that his Majesty had resolved upon some limitation for the dispatch of Sir Francis Cottington in matter and time, and had given order to Mr. Secretary Calvert to make the dispatch back to Spain, I took the boldness to get leave of his Majesty to go to Greenwich on the Monday, to solemnize a marriage between a daughter of mine and Sir Robert Harley. I returned hither yesterday to see the prosecution of the fleet's dispatch, have spoken with the Lord of Rutland, and find all things well advanced; and this night I hope to find his Majesty at Andover, and to return to the Lord of Rutland his Majesty's warrant to carry the fleet to St. Andera, and that is all his Lordship attends; at least, by that time he will be ready to go the fleet. Your noble Lady, the unmatched pattern of a wife, and your daughter as exceedingly fair, are both well; and the confidence of your speedy return hath wrought a great advantage of the complexion and good looks of your revered lady and honourable sister.

If I were not jealous of myself, that I look upon the public good with the spectacles of self-love, I should a thousand times beg of you to hasten his Highness's return and yours. But I will pray to the Almighty to make you way to his glory, and your own honour. And I do beg of your Grace to present my service acceptably to his Highness, and that you will be pleased to keep in your intentions to command.

Your Grace's, &c.

EDWARD CONWAY.

P. S. The acts of favour are gone this day to the King's signature, which known, will create cold sweat and fear, until the return of his Highness and your Grace.

JAMES I.
1623.

Prince Charles and the Duke, to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

July 29th.

AFTER a long expectation of Grilley, he arrived yesterday morning, with the good news of your health, and the dispatch of our business: we are sorry that there are arose in your conscience any scruples, but we are very confident, when we see your Majesty, to give you very good satisfaction for all we have done; and had we had less help, we had done it both sooner and better, but we leave that till our meeting. Sir, we have not been idle in this interim, for we can now tell you certainly, that, by the 29th of your August, we shall begin our journey, and hope to bring her with us; but if they will not suffer her to come till the Spring, whether we shall be contracted or not, we humbly beseech your Majesty to leave it to our discretions, who are upon the place, and see things at a nearer distance, and a truer glass than you and your Council can there; for marriage there shall be none, without her coming with us, and in the mean time comfort yourself with this, that we have already convinced the Condé of Olivares in this point, that it is fit the Infanta come with us before Winter. He is working underhand with the Divines, and, under colour of the King' and Prince's journey, makes preparation for hers also; her household is a settling, and all other things for her journey, and the Condé's own words are, he will throw us all out of Spain as soon as he can. There remains no more for you to do, but to send us peremptory commands to come away, and with all possible speed: we desire this, not that we fear we shall have need of it, but in case we have, that your son (who hath expressed much affection to the person of the Infanta) may press his coming away, under the colour of your command, without appearing an ill lover. I your Baby give you humble and infinite thanks,

for

for the care you have expressed, both to my person and honour. JAMES I.
1623.
 And I your slave and dog, who have most cause, give you none at all, because you have sent me no news of my wife, and have given her leave to be sick, and I conclude it the more dangerous, because you dare not write me news of it. We hope you have sent the rest of the navy towards us, by this time; if you have not, we beseech you to use all the speed you can, as we shall do, to cast ourselves, with an increase of your fleet. So we crave your blessing.

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

Madrid,
the 29th of July, 1623.

STEENIE.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dead Dad and Gossip,

IF I should give you due thanks for all you have done for me, I July 30th.

should spend my time in nothing else, and so want to give this account of your son's business, which you have most reason now to hearken after. When you shall have most leisure to receive thanks, and I thought best how to give them, as heretofore so then, your part will be to back and run from them. In the mean time, Sir, know, that upon the King's Council, and Court's expression of joy, that the Prince had come into, and accepted of their own offers here, to be contracted, and stay for the Infanta's following him at the beginning of the Spring, that we thought it a fit time in the heat of their

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expressions,

JAMES I.
1623.

expressions, to try their good-natures, and press the Infanta's present going. Whereupon the Prince sent me to the Condé of Olivares, with these reasons for it, that first, it would lengthen much your days, who best deserved of them in this, and many other businesses; It would add much to the honour of the Prince, which otherwise must needs suffer; The Infanta would thereby gain the sooner the hearts of the people, and so consequently make her desires and their ends sooner and easier to be effected in favour of the Catholics; That otherwise we should compass but one of those ends for which we came, for marriage, and not friendship, and so it would prove but like the French alliance; That the affairs of Christendom would easier and sooner be compounded; That if he had any reasons of state in it, which he hoped to gain at the Spring, I would show him how he would better compass it now, than when their distrust would beget the same in us; How your Majesty had been this year at a great charge already, and how this delay would but be of more, to both kingdoms: With this I intreated him to think of my poor particular who had waited upon the Prince hither, and in that, distasted all the people in general; How he laid me open to their malice and revenge, when I had brought from them their Prince a free man, and should return him bound by a contract, and so locked from all posterity, till they pleased here; How that I could not think of this obligation, if he would relieve me in it, without horror or fear, if I were not his faithful friend and servant, and intended thankfulness. He interrupted this with many grumblings, but at last said, I had bewitched him; but if there was a witch in the company, I am sure there was a devil too. From him I repaired to his Lady, who, I must tell you by the way, is as good a woman as lives, which makes me think all favourites must have good wives, whom I told what I had done; she liked of it very well, and promised her best assistance. Some three or four days after, the Prince sent to intreat him to settle her house, and to give order in other things for their journey; he asked what

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day he would go away, but himself named the 29th of your August, which the Prince accepted of. Some two days after, the good Countess sent for me, the most afflicted woman in the world, and told me the Infanta had told her, the Prince meant to go away without her, and for her part, she took it so ill, to see him so careless of her, that she would not be contracted till the day he was to take his leave. The Countess told me the way to mend this, was to go to the Condé, and put the whole business in the King's hands, with this protestation, that he would rather stay seven years, than go without his Mistress, he so much esteemed her; and if I saw after, that this did not work good effects, that the Prince might come off, upon your Majesty's command, at pleasure. With this offer I went to the Condé, he received it but doggedly; the next day I desired audience of the Infanta, to taste her. I framed this errand from your Majesty, that you had commanded me to give her a particular account of what you had done, and that you had overcome many difficulties to persuade the Council to come into these articles, and that you yourself was come into them, merely in contemplation of her, and that you had given order for present execution, and since you had done thus much to get her, you made no question but her virtues would persuade you to do much more for her sake. When I had done this, I told her of the Prince's resolution, and assured her, that he never spoke of going, but with this end, to get her the sooner away; but that hereafter he durst use no diligences for her and himself, since he was subject to so ill offices, except she would take this for granted, that he would never go without her, which she liked very well of. When I had done this, I told her, since she was the Prince's wife, all my thoughts was bent to gain her the love of that people whither she was to go, and I showed her how the articles contained no more than for the time to come; but there was many Catholics, who at this day were fined in the Exchequer, and though it would be some loss to your Majesty (though I think it would be none), yet, if she

JAMES I.
1623.

JAMES I.
1623.

would make a request to the Prince for them, your Majesty would quit it. I hope I have not done ill in this, but sure I am, it hath not done ill to our business; for what with this, and that news of the sending the four ships to Leith, this morning the Countess hath sent the Prince this *recantbo*, otherwise called message, that the King, the Infanta, and the Condé, are the best contented that can be, and that he should not now doubt his soon going away, and to carry the Infanta with him.

Sir, I cannot end this letter without recommending this bearer your ape, to your care, as any thing falls; Porter that came with us, will stand in great need also of your help, and in helping these two, you help me, who humbly crave your blessing.

Your Majesty's slave and dog,

The 30th of July.

STEENIE.

Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham.

Most gracious Patron,

August 5.

SINCE my last to your Grace by Mr. Killegrew, there hath fallen some misunderstandings or disputations, which have varied the state of proceedings touching the execution of grace intended by his Majesty to the Roman Catholics, and the satisfactory letters promised by the Ambassadors. By the copy of Mr. Secretary Calvert's letter to me, bearing date the 2d of this month, which I send herewith, your Grace will see what were the difficulties; and by the copy of the Ambassador's letter, you will see those dry and cold passages which his Majesty found to differ far from those large and zealous offers they had made, of writing unto Spain, declared by a letter of Mr. Secretary Calvert's, of the last of July, whereof I now send your Grace a copy; though I conceive I sent you one before, by Mr. Killegrew,

JAMES I.
1623.

legrew, who went from hence the 2d of this month, with an intention to take those effectual letters with him. The third of this instant, I received from Mr. Secretary, his letter of the second, by which his Majesty, finding that those effectual letters were not written, nor intended to be prepared, but new disputes raised, his Majesty commanded me to write to stay Mr. Killegrew, which I instantly did, but whether those letters came time enough to stay him or no, I know not yet. The same day Killegrew went from hence, the Ambassadors set forth hitherward, and arrived here the fourth, at two of the clock. Immediately, his Majesty sent my Lord Carlisle and myself, to them with instructions (after the compliment of welcome performed), to show them the reasons of the validity of the performance his Majesty made of his promise, and of the weakness and invalidity of that they desired: and then the inconvenience to his Majesty, for reason of state, to satisfy them in that kind, the proof of which was delivered thus.

His Majesty having undertaken to give an immunity unto the Roman Catholics for the time to come, was afterwards drawn by the importunity of the Spanish Ambassadors (and by desire and opinion to make a speedy return of his son, with the accomplishment of the marriage, and in the company of her Highness the Infanta), to give order for a pardon for all things past, that stood to the advantage of the King, and in his power to release. And for the time to come, to give likewise (under his Majesty's seal) a dispensation and immunity from all penal laws, statutes, or ordinances whatsoever they were subject to, for their consciences. And this, for the care his Majesty had of the accomplishment of his royal promise, which he would make sure against himself, and his successors, at all events. Which the Ambassadors having refused, propounding a proclamation, which was but a suspension of the law, might be made void by another proclamation, and did not bind a successor; and therefore his Majesty knew not by what counsel they were carried

to

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to refuse a full and good security, and in place thereof to propound a defective one. His Majesty being very unwilling to make a construction that the Ambassadors sought delays here, to the end that, upon them, they might form delays in Spain, or that the Ambassadors would be carried with the variety, vain-glory, or malice of the Roman Catholics, to require things unsafe for them, and improper for his Majesty to grant, who best knew what were the best securities for the making good of his word and oath, and what was most suitable with the peace of his government.

To this the Ambassadors answered, with such doubts and arguments as they had gathered up from the ignorant, fearful, distrustful Roman Catholics that had sought them.

The reply to this was, that, if the Ambassadors knew the strength of our laws, the authority, and inviolable dignity of a Great Seal, the roundness and integrity of his Majesty's proceeding, and would but truly understand the unproperness of a proclamation, in point of government, they would be ill satisfied with those that had cast them upon that counsel: and then they might judge how much cause his Majesty had to be displeased with those that had pushed at so great inconveniences, and been authors of so great a delay. And the better to rectify the Ambassadors' judgments and knowledge in this, it was propounded to them, that there were wise and judicious lawyers, that were well known to be Roman Catholics; that it was not doubted but that his Majesty would be contented to permit one sufficient man of those (to be chosen by them) to look into the validity of the pardon for the things past, and of the dispensation of the things to come: and that it should be lawful for that lawyer to attend his Majesty's Attorney, and to give assistance and force, with all legal terms and provisions, for their better security. And that concerning the proclamation, they might be pleased to know, that it was the judges, justices, and inferior officers, in whose power it was to proceed against, or to question, or molest the Roman Catholics;

lics; and to all those officers, the pardon, dispensation, and prohibition further to molest them, was to be directed: a proclamation was only to the vulgar people, who had no interest in the business, nor were capable of any thing but fear and rumour. And the Ambassadors were prayed (as men of estate) to judge whether it were more seasonable, the Prince away, the marriage not made, the temporal conditions not published, to intimate this grace by proclamation, or to let it slide in by this more silent way of pardon and dispensation.

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Here the Ambassadors gave a stop to themselves, began to protest their care of the peace of the state, and to recount the orations they had made to the Roman Catholics, to receive this Grace thankfully, as a mere grace of the King.

And here they let fall the pretence for a proclamation, and laid hold upon the offer of the security by pardon with the inspection of a Counsellor; prayed that they might appoint one to solicit that Counsellor, and that the Counsellor, and the person to be sent to him, might have warrant, by a letter from a Secretary of State, that his Majesty would take well their endeavour in that business. And there remained no visible exception, on the Ambassador's part, but the charge of a pardon, to which they had answer to satisfy them. And they being fully satisfied, the opportunity was not lost to require them then to write presently to the King of Spain, the full performance, on his Majesty's part, and to solicit the speedy accomplishment of the blessed marriage, and the speedy return of the Prince in the company of the excellent and happy Infanta.

To this we found a ready preparation in Don Carlo, and, it may not be said a backward, but a cautious enquiry by the Marquis of Ignioza, for an answer to his proposition, who, in conclusion, took occasion to propound a paper drawn, of certain limitations, to which if his Majesty would explain his consent, under the hand of his Secretary, he would presently write, to the uttermost extension, for the justifying

JAMES I.
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justifying of his Majesty's real and royal accomplishment, and for the hastening the conclusions in Spain. This paper was brought in by Mr. Gage, and withal, the form of the proclamation, and another paper of requests destined to be delivered to his Majesty. The form of the proclamation was undoubtedly one of the most impertinent pieces that could be shewed.

For the paper of requests, it concerned Scotland, and Ireland, and received such answers, as the Ambassadors seemed in very large measure to approve.

Since, we have heard nothing of it. For the paper of propositions, for his Majesty to approve by his Secretary, my Lord Carlisle very judiciously suffered it to be received, to be presented to his Majesty, and approved by him, and in the mean time a provisional promise made, that Mr. Gage should be dispatched to solicit the execution of the pardon, and an effectual letter written, if his Majesty did approve of the propositions; which propositions (at their request) were left in their hands, to be translated into English, and delivered this morning; of which propositions I send your Grace a copy herewith. I instantly represented them to his Majesty, who commanded me to wait upon my Lord Carlisle again to the Ambassadors; and to us his Majesty gave instructions upon these two exceptions: the one concerning the composition made with recusants for forfeitures, and given away by patent to others, and was not now in the power of his Majesty no more to take from them, than to take back any land he had granted by patent, or than that it should be possible for him to make void these pardons and acts of grace to the Roman Catholics, to be passed under the Great Seal. But his Majesty was well pleased, that, since he took off them all the penal statutes, by which they were made liable to these things, if they could by pleading by law prove, that the cause being taken away, the effect ceased, they should have equal justice. With this they quieted themselves.

The

The other point was, concerning the declaration, that scholars JAMES I.
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To this, his Majesty excepted, as a thing of a tender and dangerous interpretation for his honour and constancy, that he should not only at one instant give unexpected grace and immunity to his subjects the Roman Catholics, but seem to endeavour to plant a seminary of other religion than he made profession of. But it was enough that his Majesty took off all penalties from them, so as they stood in possibility to be admitted by grace, if they would not take the oaths, or otherwise they might forbear entering into universities; but such as could gently pass in by favour, according to the example of many that do so now.

The Marquis of Ignioza answered, that all penalties were not taken off them, for the penalty of shame remained upon them, that they could not be capable of offices equally with other men.

The reply to that was, that there was no shame but what the laws had imposed: that the laws, by the King's grace, were taken away, and taken away with more advantage to them, than the Protestants were left in.

For if a person capable of any preferment, desired a place or office, if the King, or other person that had power to bestow the place accepted him, he could not be refused for not taking the oaths; for grace hath suspended them for the Roman Catholics, but not to the Protestants.

This, and the rest, cost many more arguments, the clearing of which received good assistance by the discretion and moderation of Mr. Gage, who sometimes assisted the clearing of points by good interpretation, sometimes by bearing witness to the truth of the allegations concerning formalities, and condition of our state and law. But with all the aids, the Marquis of Ignioza found himself troubled, his reason convicted, that his Majesty did accomplish to the full, whatsoever he was obliged to by the articles, or his royal promise;

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and yet that was short of what the Marquis desired to gain, to magnify himself by, in the way of supererogation. But being finally pressed judiciously to examine how punctually his Majesty had accomplished all that he was tied to by the articles and more, for the contemplation of hastening the conclusion of this blessed business, and the joyful coming of those excellent Personages hither; and that he would in goodness think this delay too long, and justly write that his Majesty had fully accomplished all his part to be done; and add to it this good office of pressing a speedy consummation of the marriage in Spain, and speedy coming of their Highnesses together; to this he answered with an earnest (almost a choleric) frankness, that he ought and would write, that the King had fulfilled every jot of that he was bound to, and more; but wherein more (though he would write into Spain) he would not tell us; but added withal, that he would write, that though the King had performed all, yet the Catholics were left by the negligence committed by the Council of Spain, without possibility to be possessed of offices.

The reply to this showed him, from the arguments before, that judgment was ill grounded, and that if he should write so into Spain (whereof there was no necessity), it might be a misinformation, and yet cause question and delay in the proceedings.

From hence the Marquis took occasion to breath out many protestations of his roundness, pureness in this business, and equal faith to both Kings; professing it to have been, before he came out of Spain, his judgment and his counsel (wherein he was now more fortified), that the advantage of Spain, was to consummate the match speedily, and alike to hasten the return of their Highnesses into England.

And although he waved the dispatch of his letters into Spain from hence, by an argument of what ill spirits may philosophy upon it, yet he vowed upon the cross of the Lord Carlisle's sword, and by all the rights and bounds of heaven and honour, that he would haste to

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London, haste the dispatch of the pardon, send a copy of it, and with it his letters of celebration of his Majesty's royal performance in every tittle; and warrants there should be no delay, concurring with his many former letters to that effect.

JAMES I.
1623.

This narration his Majesty hath commanded me to make thus particularly and largely, that his Highness and you might, by sight of the whole frame, judge of the perfection or imperfection of the building. And I have forborn the form, of this my Lord of Carlisle said, or this I said, not of ambition to slide myself into equality with him; but well knowing whatsoever I should call his, would not look like his, wanting both life and his polishing. But this I truly say, whatsoever is good and effectual, is his, and mine nothing but the faults.

And this I will as truly say, this cause is dear to all England, and as precious I believe to us two, as to any two in England.

Your Grace may be pleased, even of your grace, to present my service to his Highness, to whom that I never write, is only of reverence; and alike to vouchsafe my acknowledgment of what I am, is by you, and for you, as I am by humble affection and faith,

Your Grace's, &c.

Salisbury,
August 5th, 1623.

EDWARD CONWAY.

JAMES I.
1623.*Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham.*

August 6th.

Gracious Patron,

THE Lord Carlisle being appointed to marshal the train of the Ambassadors in this day's hunting, required me to present his service to your Grace, and in his name to beseech you to reserve from the eyes and knowledge of all men but his Highness, the postscript of his Majesty's letter, as you tender an humble, faithful, active servant of yours, until you shall have ample knowledge of all the circumstances of that information.

Since the finishing of my exorbitant narration, Mr. Gage hath been with me to propound a meeting between the Ambassadors, the Lord Carlisle and myself, to accord upon some limitations of the matters to be comprehended in the pardon and dispensation, which being done, and put under our hands, the Marquis will write the effectual letters so often mentioned, for the assurance of the full accomplishment of all on his Majesty's part, and hastening of the match.

I have acquainted his Majesty with the proposition, and his Majesty readily approves it, and your Grace may be confident, all possible to be done, shall be done, that may hasten his Highness's return, and yours, in which my interest is no less, than happy, or unhappy.

I have not time to clear myself to your Grace; but, thus, I am sometimes perplexed, not being able of your friends to conceive which is to be preferred. I must believe all that profess it, and love them for that; but want trials to discern farther, having less commodity to do that, than others; because I never use a mask to shadow whose I am, and desire not to know, under the seal of friendship, that which I cannot conceal with mine own integrity. And that all pro-
fess

fels to you, is no marvel, for the constancy of our master's affection to you, is enough to keep the crooked straight. JAMES I.
1623.

When your Grace shall think it fit to instruct my faith and industry, there is nothing so longed for as your commandments.

It seems, upon the marriage, it will be fit, that some qualified person be sent to give the *Parabien*; and it is possible the Lord Carlisle his eye is upon it, and for ought I can see, there is none more proper for your service; if it be not so, the fairest way (by your Grace's pardon) is, to find it superfluous to send any. If these kind officiousnesses be too much, God and your Grace forgive it, for it comes of humble faith and duty, from

Your Grace's, &c.

Salisbury,
the 6th of August, 1623.

EDWARD CONWAY.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My sweet Boys,

I WRITE to you now upon the good fifth day of August *, in the afternoon. Secretary Calvert's moving the Ambassadors to have a sight or copy of what they wrote, hath produced this effect, that I find their letters leaner and drier than either I expected or deserved. What course I have taken with them hereupon, at their coming hither to this feast, Secretary Conway's letter will inform you at large. To be short, I have given order to put in execution, all that I have promised, and more; as themselves contents, and had been done before this time, if themselves, by new unreasonable motions, had not hindered it. And thus much more than I promised have I granted unto them, at their earnest suit, which is, a discharge of all debts already owing to me by recusants; and therefore, if they cast up now the great dowry that they are to give, remember that, by

* James honoured the 5th of August, with his escape from Earl Gowrie, at Perth, on a solemn annual thanksgiving, on account of that day, in 1600.

this

JAMES I.
1023.

this deed, I quit six and thirty thousand pounds of good rent, in England and Ireland; which, in good account, will strike down the third part at least of their dowry. If Killegrew be not already gone, he will deliver this letter unto you; but if he be gone, Clark will give you it, who shall immediately be dispatched after the sealing of that pardon and privy seal which is presently to be drawn up. I have no more to say, but if you hasten you not home, I apprehend I shall never see you, for my extreme longing will kill me; but God blefs you both, my sweet boys, upon this good day; and he that delivered me from so great a danger upon it, preserve you, and grant you a speedy, happy, and comfortable return in the arms of your dear Dad. Amen. Amen. Amen.

JAMES, R.

Carlisle hath told me a tale of this Marquis, that shews him to be a slim man, and my Steenie's small friend; and the Devil take them all that are so, except my Baby, who I know can never love Steenie; but in earnest he broke off a crafty discourse to Carlisle, but he choaked him so soon; therefore keep this to yourselves till ye hear more of it.

Secretary Calvert to Secretary Conway.

S I R,

August 8th.

I HAVE at this instant received from you a new *reveille-matin* about the fleet, and would be glad to know of you in particular what I am to do more than I have done, which if I knew, I were unworthy to live, if I did not give his Majesty all contentment, by my humble and diligent endeavours. I have told you often, that I cannot learn from the commissioners of the navy here, that any thing is demanded for her setting forth, except victuals; and that I had
spoken

spoken with Sir Allen Apsley, who assured me that all should be ready and aboard by to-morrow; so as there shall not need any other course to be taken now by making provisions out of the merchants ships.

JAMES I.
1623.

I have also spoken again this morning with Mr. Coke, who tells me that the commissioners of the navy had Sir Allen Apsley before them on Wednesday last, and then assured them the like, that longer than to-morrow the ship of victual should not stay, unless the wind hindered her, which I hope shall not. To be surer, he shall be called upon again this day. It is not possible to do more, for any thing I can see. When this victual comes about to Portsmouth, then will there be no cause for the fleet to stay an hour, for any thing I know, unless you hear any new complaints from my Lord of Rutland, which we know not here, being nearer to you than us.

8th August.

King James to the Prince.

My dearest Son,

I SENT you a commandment long ago, not to lose time where ye are, but either to bring quickly home your mistress, which is my earnest desire, but if no better may be, rather than to linger any longer there, to come without her; which, for many important reasons I am now forced to renew; and therefore I charge you, upon my blessing, to come quickly, either with her or without her. I know your love to her person hath enforced you to delay the putting in execution of my former commandment. I confess it is my chiefest worldly joy that ye love her; but the necessity of my affairs enforceth me to tell you, that you must prefer the obedience to a father, to the love ye carry to a mistress. And so God bless you.

August 10th.

Cranbourn,
the 10th of August, 1623.

JAMES, R.



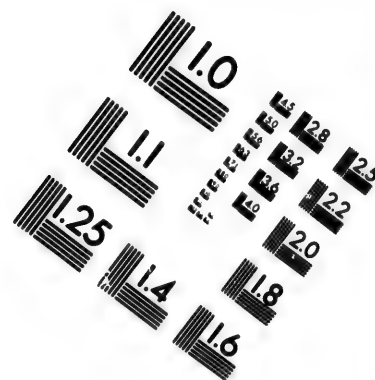
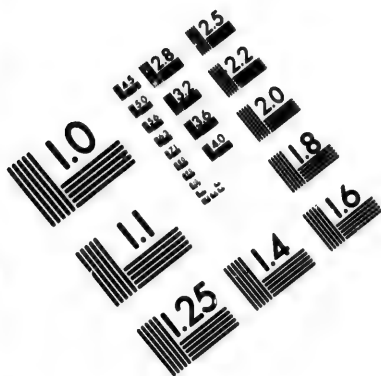
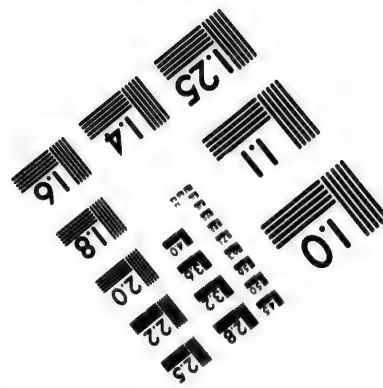
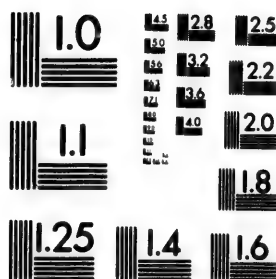


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JAMES I.

1623.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

August 20.

THE cause why we have altered our Secretary is, that I your Baby will not let your Dog trouble himself with writing, because he has been of late troubled with a great cold, with a little fit of an ague, for which he was drawn blood, but now, thanks be to God, he is perfectly well. Cottington arrived here the fifth of this month late at night, whose coming, we hoped, would have made a great alteration to the better in our business; but we find that they here believe the Marquis Inoyosa's intelligence, better than all your Majesty's real proceedings; but we beseech you take no notice to the Marquis of Inoyosa of his juggling (for he has written hither, contrary to his professions), until we wait upon you. The cause why we have been so long unwriting to you, since Cottington's coming, is, that we would try all means possible (before we would send you word), to see if we could move them to send the Infanta before winter. They, for form's sake, called the Divines, and they stick to their old resolution; but we find by circumstances, that conscience is not the true, but seeming cause, of the Infanta's stay. To conclude, we have wrought what we can, but since we cannot have her with us that we desired, our next comfort is, that we hope shortly to kiss your Majesty's hands.

Sir, We have been informed by my Lord of Bristol, that, by the French Ambassador's means, the Spanish Ambassador has seen all the letters that we have written to you, and that you are betrayed in your bed-chamber. So craving your blessing, we rest,

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Sir,

Sir, I have been the willinger to let your son play the Secretary JAMES I
1623.
at this time of little need, that you may thereby see the extraordinary care he hath of me, for which I will not intreat you not to love him the worse, nor him that threatens you, that when he once gets hold of your bed-post again, never to quit it.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog.

STEENIE.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

THIS day we take our leaves; to-morrow we begin our journey; we leave our businesses thus. This Pope being sick (as they say August 30th. here), hath not yet given power for the delivery of the dispensation, upon the capitulations agreed upon, wherefore they not being able (though many Divines say the contrary) to contract me your Baby, until that power come from Rome, and they not having used us with those realities, as to encourage us to rely longer upon uncertainties, I your Baby have thought fit to leave my promise to the King in my Lord of Bristol's hands, to deliver it when that power comes from Rome. As for the business of the Palatinate (now that we have prest them to it), we have discovered these two impediments; first, they say, they have no hope to accommodate it, without the marriage of your grandchild with the Emperor's daughter; but though we know you will like the proposition of the marriage, yet we know not how either you, or your son-in-law and daughter*, will like it with this condition, that your grandchild be bred up in the Emperor's court. The second is, that though they are content to restore him to all his lands, and his son to both lands and honour,

* King and Queen of Bohemia.

JAMES I. ^{1623.} yet they will not engage themselves to restore himself to honours, but have it left to their mediation and courtesy; and how the first point will be obtained of the father, when they will discontent him in the latter, we leave you to judge. For the jointure and temporal articles, we will be able (when we shall be so happy as to kiss your Majesty's hands) to give you a perfect account; in the mean time we crave your blessing, and end.

Your Majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

Madrid,
the 29th of August 1623.

STEENIE.

The Infanta to King James.

S I R,

August 30th. I WAS very glad to receive the letter your Majesty hath been pleased to send me, by which your Majesty sheweth a good-will and affection to me: and although in both these things I do correspond with equal degree and measure, yet I do acknowledge the favour, and with a desire to have some occasion to satisfy (as far as is in my power), to so great an obligation; being also answerable to this, the good pleasure of the King, my Lord and Brother, who loveth and esteems your Majesty so highly, as also all that belongeth to your Majesty. God save your Majesty, as I desire.

Madrid,
the 30th of August, 1623.

Your Majesty's most affectionate,

MARIA.

JAMES I.
1623.*Duke of Buckingham to King James.*

Dear Dad and Gossip,

THIS bearer hath staid for the Infanta's and other letters, a day Sept. 1st.

longer than was resolved of, which hath given me this occasion, by stealth from your Baby, to assure your Majesty, by this last night's rest, of my perfect recovery. Nothing dejected me so much in my sickness, as my absence from you; nor nothing was so great a cordial to me in my recovery, as this thought, that in a few days we shall step towards you; yet I beseech your Majesty to believe this truth, that I so far prefer this business, and your service, before any particular of my own, that this resolution hath not been taken with precipitation, but when we saw there was no more to be gained here, we thought it then high time with all diligence to gain your presence. Sir, my heart and very soul dances for joy; for the change will be no less than to leap from trouble to ease, from sadness to mirth, nay, from hell to heaven. I cannot now think of giving thanks for friend, wife, or child; my thoughts are only bent of having my dear Dad and Master's legs soon in my arms; which sweet Jesus grant me, and your Majesty all health and happiness; so I crave your blessing.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

The 1st of September.

STEENIE.

S I R,

I'll bring all things with me you have desired, except the Infanta, which hath almost broken my heart, because your's, your son's, and the nation's honour is touched by the misfortune of it; but since it is their fault here and not ours, we will bear it the better; and when I shall have the happiness to lie at your feet, you shall then know the truth of all, and no more.

JAMES I.

1623.

Prince Charles to the Pope.

Sanctissime Pater,

LITERAS S^u. V. vigesimo Aprilis 1623 Romæ datas, tantâ animi gratitudine et observantiâ accepimus, quantâ cum benevolentia pioque affectu videntur exaratæ: nobisque imprimis grata fuere illa, quibus uti placuerit S^u. V. incitamenta à nunquam satis laudatis nobilissimorum majorum nostrorum exemplis petita, qui anteaclis seculis nunquam parati magis exitere advitæ capitisque discrimen adversus hostes Christi nomini infestos ultro subeundum, quo sacro sanctum ipsius cultum latius propagarent, quam nos hoc tempore (quo inveterata Satanæ, discordiarum patris, malitia obtinuit tantum, ut dissidia admodum infelicia inter illos ipsos, qui religionem Christianam profitentur, longè latèque disseminaverit), ad omnem opem atque operam sedulò adhibendam, ut ecclesia Dei aliquando reconcilietur, atque ad pristinam pacem et unitatem denuò reducat: quod pro primo semper gradu ac passu tantique momenti esse habuimus, ut vel maximè conferat ad sacrosanctum Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi nomen ac gloriam fælicius in terris promovendam: quod non minori nobis honori futurum ducemus, progenitorum nostrorum vestigiis prementes, in tam piis et religiosis susceptis eorundem imitatores extitisse, quam ab iisdem genus nostrum et originem deduxisse: ad quod nos plurimum hortantur præcepta domini nostri regis, ac patris mei propensio, et vehemens admodum quo flagrat desiderium huic tam sancto operi manum porrigere auxiliatricem: nec non intimus animi dolor, quo commovetur, dum secum contemplatur deplorandas strages et calamitates, quæ a simultatibus et dissensionibus inter principes Christianos exortis passim producentur. Nec illud porro judicium, quod S^u. V. visum est facere de eo, quod nos tenemur desiderio, cum Principe Catholicâ Romanâ matrimonium contrahendi, a S^u. V. sapientiâ atque charitate dissonum omnino

est

est aut alienum, siquidem, uti a S. V. rite observatum est, vix aut ne vix quidem tanto, quo fruimur, studio cuperemus tam arcto et indissolubili propinquitatis vinculo cum cujusdam personâ conjungi, cujus religionem odio et detestationi haberemus. Sed S. V. hoc sibi persuasum habeat, eam nostram esse, semperque in posterum futuram, moderationem; ut non solum quam longissimè à nobis suspicionem omnem removebimus, atque ab omni demum actu temperabimus, qui aliquam præ se speciem ferat nos à Romanâ Catholicâ religione abhorre, sed omnes potius captabimus occasiones, quò leni benignoque rerum processu sinistræ omnes suspensiones è medio penitus tollantur: ut sicut omnes unam et individuum Trinitatem, et unicum Christum crucifixum publicè profitemur, ita in unam tantummodo fidem, in ecclesiam unam unanimiter coalescamus. Quod ut effectum demus, labores omnes et vigilias, et quodcunque itidem periculum, quod inde rebus nostris aut personæ poterit imminere, si facto opus erit, parvi pendemus. Quod reliquum est, S^{ti}. V. gratias, quas possumus maximas, pro literis vestris, quas insignis muneris loco habemus, referentes, S^{ti}. V. prospera omnia, æternamque sælicitatem comprecamur*.

JAMES I.
1623.

* There are several copies of this remarkable letter in the historians; the above was transcribed from the original draught. Lord Clarendon says very properly of it, writing to Secretary Nicholas from Jersey, "The letter to the Pope is, by your favour,

"more than compliment; and may be a warning that nothing is to be done or said. "in that nice argument but what will bear the light."

See Lord Chancellor Clarendon's State Papers, vol. ii. p. 337.

JAMES I.

1623.

* *Duke of Buckingham to King James.*

Dear Dad and Gossip,

IT cannot but have been an infinite trouble to have written so long a letter and so soon, especially at this painful time of your arms; yet wish I not a word omitted, though the reading forced blushes, deserving them no better, neither is it fit I should ever dissemble with my master. Wherefore I confess truly I am not a jot sorry for the pains you have taken; this might argue I love myself better than my Maker, but my disobedience in this, with my humble obedience in all my future actions, shall witness the contrary; and I can boldly say it is not in the power of your large bountiful hand and heart ever hereafter either to increase my duty and love to you, or to overvalue myself as you do, by thinking it fit I should be set so far above my fellows †. There is this difference betwixt that noble hand and heart, one may surfeit by the one, but not by the other, and sooner by yours than his own; therefore give me leave to stop, with mine, that hand which hath been but too ready to execute the motions and affections of that kind obliging heart to me. As for that argument that this can be no leading case to others, give me leave to say, it is true only in one (but that is a great and the main) point; for I grant that I am more than confident, you will never love none of your servants, (I will be faucy here) better than Steenie; thus it will be no leading. But you cannot deny but it may be a precedent of emulation hereafter, to those that shall succeed you, to express as much love as you have done to me; and I am sure they may easily find many fitter subjects. So if it be unfit in respect of the number, this way it will be increased; but I maintain it is unfit in respect there is not here, as in other places,

* This letter, plainly relating to Buckingham's being made a Duke, was certainly writ from Spain. His ducal patent bore date May 18th, 1623.

† Here follows a line and a half blotted out.

a distinction betwixt Dukes and King's children; and before I make
 a or a step to that parity between them and other subjects, JAMES I.
1623.
 I'll disobey you, which is the most I can say or do. I have not so
 much unthankfulness, to deny what your Majesty saith, that my
 former excuse of the disproportion of my estate is taken away; for
 you have filled a consuming purse, given me fair houses, more land
 than I am worthy of, to maintain both me and them, filled my coffers
 so full with patents of honour, that my shoulders cannot bear more;
 this I say is still a great argument for me to refuse, but you have not
 been contented to rest here, when I thought you had done more
 than enough, and as much as you could * but hath found out a
 way, which to my heart's satisfaction, is far beyond all; for with this
 letter, you have furnished my cabinet with so precious a witness of
 your valuation of me, as in future times it cannot be said, that I rise,
 as most courtiers do, through importunity. For which character of
 me, and incomparable favour from you, I will sign, with as con-
 tented, nay as proud a heart,

Your poor STEENIE,

as Duke of Buckingham.

† Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

STEENIE,

I SEND you here inclosed the interrogatories that the King thinks
 fit should be asked concerning the malicious accusations of the
 Spanish Ambassador. As for the way, my father is resolved (if
 you do not gainsay it, and show reason to the contrary) to take the
 oaths himself, and to make Secretary Calvert, and the Chancellor of

1624.
April 26th.

* Follows half a line blotted.

† The following letters were writ after the return of the Prince and the Duke to England:

the

JAMES I.
1624.

the Exchequer, to take the examinations in writing under their hands that are examined; thus much is by the King's command. Now for my opinion, it is this, that you can incur no danger in this, but by opposing the King's proceedings in it, to make him suspect that you have spoken somewhat that you are unwilling he should hear of; for I cannot think that any man is so mad, as to call his own head in question, by making a lye against you, when all the world knows me to be your true friend, and if they tell but the truth, I know they can say but what the King knows, that you have avowed to all the world, which is, that you think, as I do, that the continuance of these treaties with Spain might breed us much mischief; wherefore my advice to you is, that you do not oppose, or show yourself discontented at the King's course herein, for I think that it will be so far from doing you hurt, that it will make you trample under your feet, those few poor rascals that are your enemies. Now, sweetheart, if you think I am mistaken in my judgment in this, let me know what I can do in this, or any thing else, to serve thee, and then thou shalt see that all the world shall daily know more and more, that I am and ever will be,

Your faithful loving constant friend,

April 26th, 1624.

CHARLES, P.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

STEENIE,

THIS day the Lower House has given the King a subsidy, and are likewise resolved to send a message, humbly to entreat him to end this session before Christmas. I confess that this that they have done, is not so great a matter, that the King need to be indulgent over them for it; yet on the other side (for his reputation abroad at this time), I would not wholly discontent them: therefore my opinion is, that

that the King should grant them a session at this time, but withal I ^{JAMES I.}
would have him command them not to speak any more of Spain, ^{1624.}
whether it be of that war, or my marriage.

This, in my opinion, does neither suffer them to encroach upon the King's authority, nor give them just cause of discontentment: I think you will find that all those of the Council that the King trusts most, are likewise of this mind. Sir Edward Cecil writ me a letter from the army, of much stuff, but it was of fashion; the most of the letter was of reasons why the King should enter into a war for the defence of the Palatinate, and trust no more treaties, but the end of it was, that he might be employed in it. Now, in earnest, I wish the gentleman well, but yet I would not have Sir Horace Vere (who has both endured so much misery, and done so good service there), either to be discouraged or disgraced: therefore I think the King shall do well to employ Cecil, but I would not have him come over the other's head. So praying you to commend my humble service to the King I rest,

Yours more than can be expressed,
and as much as can be thought,

CHARLES, P.

King James to the Duke of Buckingham.

My sweet dear child, scholar, and friend,

ST. Paul thou knowest commands us to examine ourselves, before we go to the sacrament, but yet he commands to go and receive it; so though I put thee in mind to speak as thou promised to the Spanish Agent, yet did surely expect thy coming here this night. Thou may make the big rich man bring him hither to thee, or thou may

3 N

take

JAMES I.
1624.

take occasion to go any day in this week to dine at London, and meet with him there, if he cannot be brought to thee to-morrow morning. Alas, sweet heart, I find by this how precise thou art to keep thy word to me, when thou prefers it to thy own greatest comfort in coming to me; God reward thee for it, but I must quarrel thee, that though in both my former letters I prayed thee to bring the with thee, thou hast not so much as sent me word whether they can come or not; I would gladly have them here, but howe'er it be, fail not to be here thyself to-morrow, before supper-time. And so God bless thee and all thine to the comfort of thy dear Dad.

JAMES, R.

Your old Purveyor sends you a kid for your dinner to-morrow, and thou shalt find another here.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

STEENIE,

HIS Majesty likes the last letter better than the first, only it has two faults where the other has but one. In the first it has only this, that it binds his Majesty to a promise, that if any of his Majesty's Popish subjects offend, he must let the Pope know of it before he punish them, which ye may remember upon the inditing of the letter his Majesty says he stuck upon; and the second error in the new letter is, that his Majesty wishes the Pope to expel the Jesuits by order. Now, his Majesty leaves the ordinary form of doing it to the Pope, by his own ordinary ways; his Majesty hath nothing ado to teach him by what order to do it; he has likewise put in the last letter before the subscription, *S. V. devotissimus*; whereas, in his Majesty's letter to the former Pope, there was nothing written but his

Majesty's

Majesty's name. He likewise, in one place at least of the second letter, omits to put in *Romanos* after *Catholicos*. Now, ye know, my father has ever stood upon it, both by word and write, that he is as good a Catholic as the Pope himself; therefore since they take to themselves the title of Catholic Roman, let them brook it a God's name, he will not scant them of a syllable of it. I will speak to Secretary Conway for a pass for Robert Watfon, but by this ye may see, that, of necessity, the letter must be written over again before his Majesty can sign it, which he prays you that it may be done with all speed possible; and as for your letter to the Cardinal, he likes very well of it. As for the request ye make his Majesty to delay his journey to Royston; he says ye play the part of a crafty courtier, that where an inch is given you, ye would fain win a span; for, in earnest, he says it will be far against his heart to stay at Theobalds, where he can have no reception, but to doil up and down the park, for there is no kind of field-hawking there; and besides, while the season is yet sweet and hares of breath, his Majesty can with ease begin that exercise, which he cannot do so well when it is later in the year; and as for your part, if ye shall not be ready to go with him to Theobalds, according to his many warnings of you, and your promise to him, he can take no pleasure to be there, and he says that ye absolutely promised to go with him at his back coming. As for my part, I hope to be able to follow him quickly, howsoever I should be loth that he should stay for me; his Majesty intends likewise to write to you tomorrow morning. So in haste I rest

Your faithful constant loving friend,

CHARLES, P.

JAMES I.
1624.

JAMES I.

1624.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

NOTWITHSTANDING this unfavourable interpretation I find made of a thankful and loyal heart, in calling my words crude Catonic words, in obedience to your commands, I will tell the House of Parliament, that you having been upon the fields this afternoon, have taken such a fierce rheum and cough, as not knowing how you will be this night, you are not yet able to appoint them a day of hearing; but I will forbear to tell them, that, notwithstanding of your cold, you were able to speak with the King of Spain's instruments, though not with your own subjects. All I can say is, you march slowly towards your own safety, those that depend of you. I pray God at last you may attain to it, otherwise I shall take little comfort in wife or child, though now I am suspected to look more to the rising sun, than my Maker.

Sir, hitherto I have tied myself to a punctual answer of yours; if I should give myself leave to speak my own thoughts, they are so many, that though the quality of them should not grieve you, coming from one you wilfully and unjustly deject, yet the number of them are so many, that I should not give over till I had troubled you; therefore I will tie myself to that, which shall be my last and speedy refuge, to pray the Almighty to increase your joys, and qualify the sorrows of your Majesty.

JAMES I.

1624.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

AS necessity enforces me, instead of repairing to you, according to your command, and my promise, to go many miles from you another way, and consequently from myself; all my perfectest joys and pleasures chiefly, nay solely consisting in attending your person; so methinks duty and good manners command me, on the other part, to give you an account under my own hand, though it be yet something unsteady and weak. But before I give the reasons of the change of my former resolution; there is a thing not much in exercise now in the world, called thankfulness, that calls so fast and earnestly upon me, that I must first, though I have already done it by the assistance of a young Nobleman called Baby Charles, whom you likewise by your good offices made my friend, who, without all doubt, hath already perfectlier made my thanks, than I shall myself; yet having the pen in my hand, I must needs tell you what I observe in your late absent and public favour, but ancient manner of obliging your poor unworthy servant, whereby I find you still one and the same dear and indulgent master you were ever to me, never being contented to overvalue, and love me yourself, but to labour all manner of ways, to make the whole world do so to me. Besides, this assures me, you trust me as absolutely as ever, largely express in this, that you have no conceit of my popularity; otherwise, why should you thus study to endear me with the Upper and Lower House of Parliament, and so consequently with your whole kingdom? All, and the least I can say is this: That I naturally so love your person, and, upon so good experience and knowledge, adore all your other parts, which are more than ever one man had, that were not only

JAMES I.
1624.

all your people, but all the world besides, set together on one side, and you alone on the other, I should, to obey and please you, displease, nay despise all them; and this shall be ever my popularity. Give me leave here, to use your own proverb, *For this the devil cone me no thanks**. The reasons of my going to Newhall are these, First, I find business and the sight of busy folk does me much harm, and though your extraordinary care and watchful eye over me, would keep them from speaking to me, yet in a court I must needs look many of them in the face. Then Theobalds house is now very hot, and hath but few change of rooms; both inconvenient to a sick body. Then my Lord of Warwick tells me, that, by experience, he hath found Newhall air as good a one to ride away an ague, as any in England, and that lately he lost one, by the benefit of that air: I mean near hand, which I think will be all one. By this time, I fear I have troubled you, and were it not that I write to you, I am sure I should have wearied myself. I have now only one request to you; as you first planted me in your Baby Charles's good opinion, if you think it fit for your service, in my absence continue me in it. And so give me your blessing.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

* This is a very different style, from that in a subsequent letter, where he takes the popular side against the King's.

JAMES I.

1624.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

THOUGH I writ last night, yet I think it not amiss to add one word more, to express myself more particularly. My Lord Maxwell is arrived, and hath assured me, having had it out of the Pope's own mouth, that the dispensation is granted free, and unclogged. He further adds, that after he had, in a rough manner, spoke with the Nuncio at Paris, insomuch that he told him he would complain of him presently in a letter to his Holiness, he answered him calmly thus, and with some expression of fear, That he should do it; that if he would but have a little patience, he would quickly go through the business, and have no cause to complain. All this I have told Fiatt, but under the rose. I likewise told him you reproached to me, where is your glorious match with France and your royal frank Monsieurs? I told him also, I had order to set a short day for the assembling of the Parliament, and that you had commanded me, if the Spanishe Agent came to visit me, that I should, upon pain of your displeasure, not only use him civilly, but kindly. He answered me impatiently and confusedly, What, cannot one make a trial of gaining better and more advantageous conditions, without an intention to break? Whereupon I told him I did not think there was one occasion, besides the ties of honour or honesty, would give them leave; but I was sorry and ashamed, that so unseasonably, after all things was performed to their desire, nay more than they could have imagined, witness the assistance of shipping, the hearty professions of my master, as well by letter, as those verbal compliments he sent by Monsieur La Riviere, and now, at the time when acknowledgements at the least, if not requitals, should come, with greedy gluttonous appetites to seek to surfeit on the forbidden tree, can receive

JAMES I.
1624.

ceive no cleaner an interpretation, than to have come from an unreasonable, unjust, false and unmannerly appetite; and thus you have ended *avec bone bouche*: but I thought in my mind shitten mouths. I pray you, Sir, do not kifs that word, nor bewray, for want of bold and absolute language, a good business. I ended with Monsieur thus; your master acknowledges he hath already the substance of what he desires, though I know the contrary. The Pope is to receive satisfaction, not from my master but yours. Now then let every man act his own natural proper part. Spain must really be cozened; let the Pope do that, since he can as well pardon himself, as all the world. The Pope seemingly must be cozened; let France do that, who hath the title of the most Christian King, and so may the easilier obtain a pardon: my master will neither be cozened, nor cozen. Wherefore the most Christian King must, most conscionably, undertake to his Holiness, for as much as may cozen Spain, France, and Rome; who may not, for their union, be called the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Sir, I will weary your patience with one word more, if you please: treat as little as may be, and roundly let the Ambassador know, you so much prize your honour, that neither in a circumstance, nor form, will you make an alteration, and set your Ambassadors a settled, short, peremptory day, for an answer; if it prove good, I shall be as soon ready to go from hence, as it can be to come hither; if ill, then let your Ambassadors as speedily come away; for never admit of new journies to Rome, neither doth it need. I will end with Mall's compliment to me; Lord Father, I love you well. Lord Father I will die for you. So I crave your blessing, as

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE*.

* It would be endless to transcribe more letters in this nauseous style betwixt the King and his favourite; there are several in an indecent one. The negociation with France was then depending, and conducted with as little regard to dignity and true policy, as that with Spain.

JAMES I.
1624.*Duke of Buckingham to King James.*

Dear Dad and Gossip,

I HAVE sent Watt Montague this morning into France, with the copy of those things you resolved of with the French Ambassador, that our Ambassadors may no more complain for want of timely advertisements. The Spanish Agent will be with me, before I can have well ended this letter. Gundemar's man was with me this morning; the discourse I had with him, I am sure will not only be pleasing to you, but make you laugh. The most part of the morning I spent with the French Ambassador, and yet could not make an end; wherefore, he hath earnestly intreated me to stay this day in town, as likewise to see the dispatch he will send into France. He makes no question of an answer from thence answerable to your heart's desire. I confess I believe it, and the rather because I know they dare do no otherwise, and am sure you now begin to laugh in your sleeve, to see yourself so courted of all sides, that all their actions turn to your advantage.

Dear Dad, since I cannot come to-night, let this hasty letter give thanks for that true, favourable, and most affectionate interpretation of my staying here: and God never relieve me when I have most need, if it be not a separating of myself, when I am from you, and in lieu of having comfort, and my heart's ease by you to serve you, I give myself nothing but trouble and vexation.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

JAMES I.

1624.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

HAVING more business than was fit to trouble you with in a letter, I was once resolved to have waited on you myself, but presently came to me the news of the Spanish Ambassador's going to you, which hath diverted this resolution at this time, because I will not increase that in you of which I have already found too much; and that I will not let the Ambassador himself think, that you are distrusted, though this gives enough and too much to your people. I have, to ease your labour, writ some things to my Lord of Arran, by whom I likewise expect my answer. Only I will trouble yourself with this, that I beseech you to send me your plain and resolute answer, whether, if your people so resolve to give you a royal assistance, as to the number of six subsidies and fifteenths, with a promise after, in case of necessity, to assist you with their lives and fortunes; whether then you will not accept it, and their counsel, to break the match with the other treaties; and whether or no, to bring them to this, I may not assure some of them underhand, because it is feared, that when your turns are served, you will not call them together again to reform abuses, grievances, and the making of laws for the good government of the country, that you will be so far from that, that you will rather weary them with it, desiring nothing more than their loves and happiness, in which your own is included. Sir, I beseech you think seriously of this, and resolve once constantly to run one way. For so long as you waver between the Spaniards and your subjects, to make your advantage of both, you are sure to do it with neither.

I should for my own contentment (though I am sure I do you some service here, and would be able, if you would deal heartily

and openly with me, to do more), wait upon you oftener, but JAMES I.
1624.
that you going two ways, and myself only one, it occasions so many disputes, that till you be once resolved, I think it is of more comfort and ease to you, and safer for me, that I now abide away. For to be of your opinion, would be flattery, and not to speak humbly mine own, would be treachery; therefore I will, at this time, with all the industry of my mind, serve you here, and pray for the good success of that, and the lengthening of your days, with all the affections of his soul, that will live and die a lover of you.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE*.

What follows is all written with the Duke of Buckingham's own hand.

That you did not mean to put a scorn upon them, to call for their advice, and then to reject it, if they give royal assistance with it.

First, to give them thanks for their uniform offer of advice.

Then to take notice of their careful proceedings in the Lower House.

That you do not desire to engage them in their gift, till you be declared anent their advice.

And if you be engaged into a war by their advice, you mean not to hearken to a peace, without first hearing them.

And that they may see your sincere dealing with them, you will be contented that they chuse a committee to see the issuing out of the money they give, for the recovery of the Palatinate, in case you accept their advice.

* This is a remarkable letter, and the only been writ about March or April 1624. It one in the popular strain I ever met with of shews the old King's averfeness to a quarrel the Duke of Buckingham's. It must have with Spain.

JAMES I.

1624.

Then to show them that this is the fittest time that ever presented itself to make a right understanding between you and your people†.

And you assure yourself, their behaviour will so continue as they have begun towards you; that they shall see, by proof, how far you will be in love with parliaments for making of good laws, and reforming of abuses.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

BECAUSE the sense and thankfulness of my heart, for your excellent melons, pears, sugared beans, and assurance of better fruit planted in your bosom than ever grew in Paradise, will best appear in my humble obedience of your commands, I thought it fittest to delay the answer of your kind letter, till I might give you a full account of all it contained. By this time, I hope, Mr. Secretary hath told you, I mistook not the Ambassador, but he his own language; but before I could dispatch with him, the day was so far spent, that night accompanied me to Newhall; but this morning I have first agreed with Mr. Jennings, who is the fittest man we could have chosen for this business, and hath assured me that what is projected, I dare not say in this, but as in all other things, resolved of, till you say content, will be soon done, easy, cheap, and without hindering deer, fow, or man, of free passage. The particulars I reserve till I may demonstrate it, upon the map or place; but in the mean time, Mr. Jennings will be preparing the ground, the trees, and all other necessary things, so that there shall be no time lost, till you be acquainted with all, and pleased with it. Now for my own park,

† Here follows two lines blotted out.

I have

I have found this morning another fine wood that must go in with the rest, and two hundred acres of meadows, broom, closes, and plentiful springs running through them; so that I hope Newhall park shall be nothing inferior to Burleigh. My stags are all lusty, my calf bald, and others are so too. My Spanish colts are fat, and so is my jovial filley. Mall, Great Mall, Kate, Sue, and Steenie, shall all wait of you on Saturday, and kiss both James's and Charles's feet. To conclude, let this letter assure you, that the last words I spoke to you are so true, that I will not only give my word for them, swear upon the Holy Evangelists, but take the blessed sacrament upon them. So craving your blessing I rest

JAMES I.
1624.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Baby Charles, I kiss thy warty hands.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

I DO not know what fault I have made of late, that you should take so cruel a revenge of me, as to put me in the fear your last but one letter did. I am too far behind-hand to let the quarrel rest so, though in your last you made a proposition full of affection, if I may call it by so saucy a name. You are now in the place I love, therefore, for that respect, I will now forbear you, but when off of that ground, look to yourself. I hope to have the happiness tomorrow to kiss your hands, therefore I will not send you the letter you writ to the Pope, which I have got from Secretary Calvert. When he delivered it to me, he made this request, that he hoped your Majesty would as well trust him in a letter you were now to write

JAMES I.
1624.

write, as you had heretofore in the former. I did what I could to dissemble it; but when there was no means to do it, I thought best to seem to trust him absolutely, thereby the better to tie him to secrecy *. If this be a lie, as I am sure it is, then you may begin to think, that, with a little more stock, I may cry quittance. So I crave your blessing.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

A million of thanks for your good melons and pears.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

IN one of your letters you have commanded me to write shortly, and merrily. I shall ever, and in all things, obey you. I humbly thank you for making your commands easy to be obeyed in these two particulars; and so you preserve the last so, still the first hath been so rivetted with what is past, that no time to come can alter it. How can I but write merrily, when he is so I love best, and beyond all the world? I shall love the poor fellow's face the better for it while I live, for relating it with such joy. And for my writing short, why should I ever write otherwise, when all I can say must be short of what I should say and do, you have so infinitely obliged me? therefore I will, nay I must be short. I have left off physick; I will wait of you by the day appointed. I had Jennings with me about Theobalds park. All is well, and goes on bravely;

* Secretary Calvert resigned soon after, entrusted with a secret correspondence between his Master and the Pope. and turned Papist; his successor was Sir A. Morton. No wonder he should wish to be

and

and so is your Baby Charles, whom I hope to wait of down. This JAMES I.
 inclosed will give you an account of the Dunkirker's ships. By ^{1624.}
 this little paper you will understand a suit of fine Hollands. By the
 other parchment, a suit of my Lord President's. Of all do but what
 you please, so you give me your blessing, which I must never be de-
 nied, since I can never be other than

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

THOUGH I have received three or four letters from you since
 that I writ last to you, yet as Tom Badger says, I am not
 behind-hand with you, for I have made a hundred answers to them
 in my mind; for kinder letters never servant received from master;
 and for so great a King to descend so low, as to his humblest slave
 and servant to communicate himself in such a stile of good fellow-
 ship, with expressions of more care than servants have of masters,
 than physicians have of their patients (which hath largely appeared
 to me in sickness and in health), of more tenderness than fathers
 have to children, of more friendship than between equals, of more
 affection than between lovers in the best kind, man and wife,
 what can I return? Nothing but silence; for, if I speak, I must be
 fauzy and say thus, or short of what is due: my purveyor, my
 good-fellow, my physician, my maker, my friend, my father, my
 all; I heartily and humbly thank you for all you do, and all I
 have. Judge what unequal language this is in itself, but especially
 considering

JAMES I.
1624.

considering the thing that must speak it, and the person to whom it must be spoken. Now tell me whether I have not done discreetly to be silent all this while. It is time I should be so again, or else commit a fault in wearying him that never wearies to do good. Then thus I'll end. I begin my journey to-morrow. I shall have the Prince to wait of. We shall be at Theobalds. The one will hunt hinds and does; the other survey the trees, walks, ponds, and deer. The next day after, lay ourselves at your feet, there crave your blessing, then give an account of Theobalds park to the best of man, though not of the kind of man, yet made by man more than man, like a man, both artificial man, and my most natural sovereign, who by innumerable favours hath made me

Your Majesty's both humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

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JAMES I.
1623.

No. XXVII.

*The Spanish Match continued.**The Earl of Bristol's Letters.*From the
originals in
the Paper
Office.

[So much pains was taken by the Duke of Buckingham and his party, both at the end of King James's reign, and the beginning of his successor's, to throw blame on the Earl of Bristol's conduct, that it is but just to lay before the Public, what that Nobleman had to offer in his own vindication. The Reader will find a manly and clear style in his dispatches, far superior to that of his correspondents in office; and will not hesitate to pronounce him much better qualified for a first Minister, than the insolent and capricious Favourite, or the insufficient Secretary. The Reader may compare the private apology of Lord Bristol to King James, with the articles he gave into the House of Lords against the Duke of Buckingham, and his answer to the articles preferred against himself by the Attorney General. The abrupt dissolution of that Parliament put an end to the process.]

Earl of Bristol to Secretary Calvert.

Right Honourable,

ON Monday the 29th of September, *ft. vet.* my Lord Ambassador, and the Cardinal Capata, and the other Counsellors of State, together with all the whole household which had waited on the Prince to St. Andero, returned hither; having received all great content in the entertainment which was given there aboard, and much admiring the ships, but taken with nothing more than with the

October 24.

3 P

princely

JAMES I.
1623.

princely carriage of his Highness towards them; which I can safely say unto you, without flattery, hath been generally such, as never any Prince that went out of his country, gained so much upon the affections of a strange people, as his Highness hath done here; whereof the extraordinary great liberality and bounty which he hath used, hath not been the least cause; which he was pleased, at his embarking, much to enlarge, by giving order, that the gifts and rewards of all those which had attended him in his journey, should be double the value of what was first appointed for them; a note of all which, when I shall have perfected the list, I will send unto his Highness, and to yourself. We have found some difficulty in taking up of monies; but I shall, God willing, see it punctually performed to his Highness's honour.

The King, since his Highness's departure, hath many ways expressed his love and affection towards him, of which, in my particular, I have had experience; who, upon occasion of business, have not need, according to the usual manner, and as all other Ambassadors do, to crave audience of him, but, by a special and unusual favour, have at all times free access unto him, giving only notice to some gentleman of the chamber, of my being there, and of my attendance; the which grace and favour my Lord Ambassador Sir Walter Aston likewise, since his return, enjoyeth. On Tuesday the 7th of this present month, *ſc. vet.* my Lord went hence to the Escorial, whither it pleased this King, upon occasion of some business which offered in the treaty of the Palatinate, to send for us, who had removed thither some few days before *a la brama*, it being usual with him at this season, when the stags come down to rutt from the mountains, to pass some time in hunting there. We were no sooner come thither, which was the next day before dinner, but we were presently carried by the Condé of Olivares, up to the King in his bed-chamber, where we found him without his cloak, and in the same manner as he useth to be seen of such of his servants only as
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are near about his person, and were received of him with extraordinary freeness and affability: he being pleased to say, that now, for that he accounted the Prince's Highness to be his brother, he would not treat us as Ambassadors, but as of his household. We were feasted at dinner by the Mayor Domo, and accompanied by divers gentlemen of the chamber. After dinner, the King took us abroad in his own coach, in which he had no other with him, but only Don Carlos his brother, and the Condé of Olivares, and so carried us to the Campillo, a place well-known to his Highness, where we saw him kill four stags, and afterwards returned somewhat late, well nigh an hour within night, to the Escorial, where we were entertained and lodged in the King's house. The next morning, it was the King's pleasure that we should go forth by ourselves to hunt in the woods not far distant from the house, where we killed each of us a stag, and coming back to the Escorial, were admitted that day to see the King dine. Which particulars, although they will seem no great matter in England, where they are things of ordinary course, yet I can assure you, they are thought strange here, and esteemed extraordinary graces, such as of which, I dare boldly say, they have not seen any former examples.

This being only to acquaint you with these particulars, deferring all matter of business to the other dispatches, I commit you to God's blessed protection, and with the remembrance of my love and service to you, I rest,

Your's, &c.

Madrid,
October 24th, 1623.

BRISTOL.

JAMES I.

1623.

Earl of Bristol to the King.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

Augt. 29th.

ALTHOUGH, by my other letters, I have given your Majesty a full account of all things that passed exteriorly betwixt this King and his Highness upon his departure; yet since the further pursuing of your Majesty's businesses is now left unto myself and Sir Walter Aston, I think it my duty to represent truly unto your Majesty, in what state they now stand; to the end that hereafter I may give your Majesty a more justifiable account of my proceedings, and your Majesty, being truly and rightly informed of the truth, may the better direct and command what shall be fittest for your service.

First, concerning his Highness's Match, thus it standeth. Upon the arrival here of this Pope's approbation of those few articles which were last sent into Rome, this King is by powers left with him by the Prince to marry *per verba de presenti* the Infanta, which he is contented to capitulate shall be within ten days after the arrival of the said approbation; and, in the *interim*, the Infanta is here stiled by the name of *Princessa de Ingaltierra*, and in all things esteemed as his wife betrothed; and in that quality carrieth herself towards all.

As touching the temporal articles; they were begun to be treated of so near the departure of the Prince, that there had been but only one meeting and conference concerning them since the Prince his arrival, which was only two days before his highness's going. And then there was on all sides so much to do, that it was not possible to bring any of them to a conclusion; but, God willing, presently upon the return of the King and his Ministers to the town, we will resume the treaty where I had formerly left it, and hope to give his Highness some good account of it before his going out of Spain (if it be not hindered by his Highness carrying some of the Commissioners

oners along with him to the sea-side), or unto your Majesty, speedily after the return to Madrid. JAMES I.
1623.

As touching the business of the Palatinate; there have been several conferences and meetings about it, and it seemeth to be brought to this issue, that, upon your Majesty's condescending that the Prince Palatine's eldest son may be bred in the Emperor's Court, with the other conditions of submission which have ever been offered, they are contented that there be a full restitution made of all his territories, both of the Upper and Lower Palatinate, together with the Dignity Electoral; but hereunto they would suspend his present admission, not by way of absolute exclusion, but to be restored thereunto, upon his future good behaviour, and your Majesty's and the King of Spain's farther intercession. But against this there hath been absolute protestation made, for the reasons which I have presumed to set down in writing, and have now sent them unto Mr. Secretary Calvert, to present them unto your Majesty. But, God willing, we shall presently resume his treaty, and your Majesty shall have a faithful account thereof.

Concerning the business of Holland, wherein I received some late directions by your Majesty's letters of the 20th of July, directed unto my Lord of Buckingham and myself, I conceive it is not yet seasonable any way to stir in it; and I must here, like a faithful and much obliged servant unto your Majesty, presume to deal freely and clearly with you, that if your Majesty's great and high wisdom find not means to compound and accommodate what is now out of order, although I conceive it not to be doubted, but that the match will, in the end, proceed, yet your Majesty will find yourself frustrated of those effects of amity and friendship, which by this alliance you expected. For the truth is, that this King and his Ministers are grown to have so high a dislike against my Lord Duke of Buckingham, and, on the one side, to judge him to have so much power with your Majesty and the Prince, and on the other side, to be so ill affected to them

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them and their affairs, that, if your Majesty shall not be pleased in your wisdom, either to find some means of reconciliation, or else to let them see and be assured that it shall no way be in my Lord of Buckingham's power to make the Infanta's life less happy unto her, or any way to cross and embroil the affairs betwixt your Majesties and your kingdoms; I am afraid your Majesty will see the effects which you have just cause to expect from this alliance to follow but slowly, and all the great businesses, now in treaty, prosper but ill. For I must, for the discharge of my conscience and duty, without descending to any particulars, let your Majesty truly know, that suspicions and distastes betwixt them all here, and my Lord of Buckingham, cannot be at a greater height. This I set down unto your Majesty, only to lay truth before you, which, if any respect in the world should make me forbear, I should judge myself unworthy of life, especially in a business of so great consequence; in the prosperous and successful conclusion whereof, I conceive the greatest part of the quiet and happiness of your Majesty's life is like to consist. So, having given unto Mr. Secretary Calvert an account of all your Majesty's businesses, I presume not to trouble you any farther; but, with my humble prayers to God for your Majesty's health and prosperity, I recommend your Majesty to his most holy protection. And rest,

Your Majesty's most humble, and most
faithful servant and subject,

BRISTOL.

Madrid,
August 29th, 1623. *Æ. vet.*

JAMES I
1623.*The Same to the Same.*

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

I Presumed, in a former letter, in the discharge of the duty of a Sept. 9th.
faithful servant, to set down unto your Majesty, how much prejudice I conceived might come unto your Majesty's service, by the high distastes grown betwixt them here and my Lord Duke of Buckingham, if by your Majesty's wisdom it were not prevented.

That letter I wrote upon his Highness's departure from Madrid; since I followed the Prince unto the Escorial, being left behind a day for the dispatch of business. There I found the former distastes betwixt the Duke and the Condé of Olivares grown to a public professed hatred, and an irreconcilable enmity; but for the Prince, I cannot but let your Majesty understand, that, from the highest to the lowest, he hath left all men's hearts set upon him; and the leave taking betwixt the Prince and the King was with as great profession of love and affection as could be, whereof I was a witness, being interpreter betwixt them; and presently set down the effect of their speeches in writing, which I have sent unto Mr. Secretary Calvert, together with the copies of the King of Spain's letter, written that night unto the Prince, all with his own hand, in confirmation of what he had said, and the Prince his answer thereunto; whereby your Majesty will see how their hearts stand one towards another, and how likely it is, that all your great affairs will in the end have good success, if they be not, by the passions of the Ministers of the one side or the other, interrupted. I shall not presume to lay blame on any, but I shall faithfully labour and take care that other men's faults and errors may not have such reflection upon your Majesty's affairs, as that thereby they may be hazarded.

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I well know how long your Majesty hath treated this business, and how great things your Majesty hath done for the bringing of it to effect. And questionless, the same motives and conveniences for making of this alliance and friendship with Spain, which were, are still on foot; and to them is added the satisfaction which I suppose his Highness hath of the Infanta's person, and the good success of them more assured than ever, and the time prefixed. So that I hope all those accidents which ordinarily fall out at the interview of Princes, wherein difference of custom or religion may raise distastes, the emulation which groweth between their chief servants and Ministers, whereby often the affairs of their Masters are disordered and hazarded, will, by your Majesty's great wisdom and prudence, be so tempered and moderated, that they may cause no disturbance either in the alliance, or the effects which are to be expected from it. I presume to write thus much unto your Majesty, for that I conceive through the scarcity of the place, the negligence of officers, and the humour of the Spaniards, the Prince his servants may return home with little satisfaction; yet, as on the one side, these omissions have little relation to your Majesty's great affairs, so I dare say, that the King of Spain, (who I hope will, in the match and all other things, give your Majesty good satisfaction) cannot but be sorry to see it wanting in these petty circumstances, wherein I know there hath not been wanting in this King, all possible care for the preventing of them; although the faults of officers, and the sterility of the country by which the Prince is to pass, I guess will send the whole company home, with many just causes of complaint; but I am confident that neither that, nor any other personal misunderstandings whatsoever, will be of power to put any disturbance in your Majesty's high and important affairs.

For all other particulars, I have given an account of them unto Mr. Secretary Calvert, so that I shall not presume to give your Majesty any further trouble, but with my humble prayers to God
for

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for the increase of all happiness and prosperity unto your Majesty, JAMES I.
1623.
I humbly recommend your Majesty to God's holy protection, and
rest,

Your Majesty's, &c.

Madrid, the 19th of Sept.
1623, *1623. vii.*

BRISTOL.

The Same to the Same.

May it please your Majesty,

BY my cousin Simon Digbye I gave your Majesty an account of Sept. 24th.

all that passed here, upon the Prince's departure, and that, according to what was capitulated, his highness had left powers for the marrying of the Infanta, *per verba de presenti*, which powers were made to the King and his brother Don Carlos, but left with me, to be delivered upon the arrival of the Pope's approbation, and so declared to be his Highness's pleasure before all the King's Ministers that were present at the solemn acts of passing the Prince his powers unto the King. Since his Highness's departure, I have received commandment from his Highness, not to make delivery of the said powers, until his Highness shall be satisfied what security may be given him that the Infanta will not become a religious woman, after the betrothing, and that I expect his further pleasure therein, as your Majesty will see by the copy of his Highness's letter unto me, which I presume to send unto your Majesty, as likewise the answer which in that point I make unto his Highness, to the end your Majesty may have perfect information of the whole estate of the business. For that I conceive the temporal articles are so far agreed, that I hope to give your Majesty an account of them within few days, and to your content; and the business, after so

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1623.

many rubs, brought to that estate, that, I am confident, there will not be any failing in any point capitulated betwixt your Majesty or his Highness, but all will be punctually performed. I conceive your Majesty (continuing your desire of the match) would be loth to have the fair way it is now in to be clogged or interrupted by any new accident or jealousy that may be raised; for questionless there is no security in that particular, that can on his Highness's part be required, that they will refuse him. And I must further let your Majesty understand, that the first of the temporal articles is, that the *desposorios* shall be within ten days after the arrival of the Pope's approbation, which is hourly expected: so that I must deal like a faithful servant with your Majesty. If upon the coming of the Pope's approbation, it being capitulated that the *desposorios* shall be within ten days after the arrival of it, I should withhold the powers, and they understand that it is by a secret order of the Prince's, there being a clause in the said powers, that the Prince shall no ways, either in part or whole, revoke the said powers, or detract from them, but that they shall be in force until Christmas; I fear your Majesty will find your business much disturbed and retarded by it. And therefore I am an humble suitor unto your Majesty and the Prince, if you would have things go on in that fair way (I now suppose them to be in), that a post may be instantly dispatched back unto me, authorizing me to deliver the said powers upon the arrival of the approbation, and, having taken fitting security, in this particular point, of the Infanta's not entering into religion after her betrothing. And I hold it infinitely convenient that this be done with all possible secrecy and speed, and that the Spanish Ambassadors come not to any knowledge that ever any stay was made of the delivery of the powers. And if, in the interim, the approbation come, I doubt not but, for twenty or twenty-four days, to find other fair pretexts of deferring the *desposorios*; and herein I beg your Majesty's resolution with all speed possible.

I hope

I hope that in two days Mr. Secretary Cottington will be able to begin his journey towards England. He will give your Majesty an exact account of all your businesses here, and such a one, as I conceive, your Majesty will be glad to hear. Your Majesty may therefore be pleased to suspend any resolution in them until you have heard him. And so with my prayers for the increase of all happiness unto your Majesty, I humbly, &c.

JAMES I.
1623.

Your Majesty's, &c.

Madrid, the 24th of Sept.
1623, 8th. Oct.

BRISTOL.

The Same to the Same.

May it please, &c.

I HAVE received your Majesty's letters of the 8th of October, on the 21st of the same, some hours within night, and have thought it fit to dispatch back unto your Majesty with all possible speed, referring the answer to what your Majesty hath by these letters commanded me, to a post that I shall purposely dispatch when I shall have negotiated the particulars with this King and his Ministers; wherein, God willing, all possible dispatch shall be used.

Oct. 24th

But forasmuch as I find, both by your Majesty's said letters, as likewise by letters which I have received from the Prince's Highness, that you continue your desires of having the match proceeded in, I held it my duty that your Majesty should be informed, that although I am set free, in as much as concerneth the doubt of the Infanta's entering into religion, for the delivering the powers left with me by his Highness, yet by this new direction I now receive from your Majesty, that the *desposorios* should be deferred until Christmas, the said powers are made altogether useless and invalid, it be-

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1623.

ing a clause in the body of the said powers, that they shall only remain in force till Christmas, and no longer, as your Majesty will see by the copy of them, which I send here inclosed. Your Majesty, I conceive, will be of opinion, that this suspending of the execution of the powers, until the force and validity of them be expired, is a direct and effectual revoking of them, which not to do, how far his Highness is in honour engaged, your Majesty will be best able to judge, by viewing the powers themselves. Further, if the date of these powers do expire (besides the breach of the capitulations), although the match itself should not by jealousies and mistrusts be hazarded, yet the Princess's coming at the Spring into England, will be almost impossible. For by that time new commissions and powers shall be (after Christmas) granted by the Prince, which must be to the satisfaction of both parties, I conceive so much of the year will be spent, that it will be impossible for the fleets and other preparations to be in a readiness against the Spring. For it is not to be imagined that they will here proceed effectually with their preparations, until they shall be assured of the *desposorios*, especially when they shall have seen that, several times, deferred on the Prince's part, and that, upon pretexts that are not new, nor grown since the granting of the powers, but were before in being, and often under debate, and yet were never insisted upon to make way of the business; so that it will seem that they might better have hindered the granting of them then, than the execution of them now, if there were no staggering in former resolutions, the which although really there is not, yet cannot it be but suspected, and the clearing of it between Spain and England will cost much time. I must humbly crave your Majesty's pardon if I write unto you with the plainness of a true-hearted and faithful servant, who have ever co-operated honestly unto your Majesty's ends, if I knew them. I know your Majesty hath long been of opinion that the greatest assurance you could get, that the King of Spain would effectually labour the entire restitution

tion of the Prince Palatine was, that he really proceeded to the effecting of the match; and my instructions under your Majesty's hand were, to insist upon the restoring of the Prince Palatine, but not so as to annex it to the treaty of the match, as that thereby the match should be hazarded; for that your Majesty seemed confident, they here would never grow to a perfect conclusion of the match, without a settled resolution to give your Majesty satisfaction in the business of the Palatinate. The same course I observed in the carriage of the businesses by his Highness and my Lord Duke, at their being here; who, though they insisted on the business of the Palatinate, yet they held it fit to treat of them distinctly, and that the marriage should precede as a good pawn for the other. Since their departure, my Lord Ambassador Sir Walter Aston, and myself, have much pressed to have this King's resolution in writing, concerning the Palatinate, and the dispatches which your Majesty will receive herewith concerning that business, were written before the receipt of these your Majesty's letters, and doubtless it is now a great part of their care that that business may be well ended, before the Infanta's coming into England; and his Highness will well remember, that the Condé de Olivares often protested the necessity of having this business compounded and settled before the marriage, saying, otherwise they might give a daughter, and have a war within three months after, if this ground and subject of quarrel should be still left on foot. The same language he hath ever since held with Sir Walter Aston and myself, and that it was a firm peace and amity, as much as an alliance, which they sought with his Majesty. So that it is not to be doubted, but that this King concluding the match, resolveth to employ his utmost power for the satisfaction in the restitution of the Prince Palatine. The question now will be, whether the business of the Prince Palatine having relation to, many great Princes, that are interested therein (being at great distance), and being indeed for the condition and nature of the business itself, impossible

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possible to be ended, but by a formal treaty; which of necessity will require great length; whether the conclusion of the match shall any way depend upon the issue of this business; which I conceive to be far from your Majesty's intention, for so the Prince might long be kept unbestowed, by any averſeness of those that might have particular interest in the Prince's remaining unmarried, or dislike of his matching with Spain. But that which I understand to be your Majesty's aim is, only to have the conclusion of this match accompanied with as strong engagements as can be procured from this King, for the joining with your Majesty, not only in all good offices, for the entire restitution of the Prince Palatine, but otherwise, if need require, of his Majesty's assistance. Herein I have, these days past, laboured with all earnestness, and procured this King's public answer, which, I am told, is resolved of, and I shall within few days have it to send to your Majesty; as likewise a private proposition which will be put into your hands; and shall not fail further to pursue your Majesty's present directions of procuring this King's declaration in what sort your Majesty may rely upon this King's assistance, in case the Emperor, or the Duke of Bavaria shall oppose the entire restitution of the Prince Palatine. But I conceive, if it be your Majesty's intention that I should procure here, first, this King's peremptory answer in the whole business, and how he will be assistant to your Majesty, in case of the Emperor's or Duke of Bavaria's averſeness, and that I should send it unto your Majesty, and receive again your answer, before I deliver the powers for the *despoſorios*; the match would thereby, if not be hazarded, yet I conceive the Infanta going at Spring would be rendered altogether impossible. For if upon the arrival of the Pope's approbation, which is hourly expected, the powers be demanded of me, according to the Prince's declaration, and the agreement in the temporal articles, by which the *despoſorios* are to be within ten days after the coming of the said approbation, I cannot refuse them but upon some grounds.

If I alledge your Majesty's desire of having the *desposorios* deferred until Christmas, they know, as well as myself, that his Highness's proxy is then out of date (besides the infringing of the capitulations), and they will judge it as a great scorn put upon this King (who, ever since the Prince's granting of his powers, hath called himself the Infanta's *Desposado*) and to that effect the Prince hath written unto him, in some of his letters; besides, it will be held here a point of great dishonour unto the Infanta, if the powers called for by her friends, should be detained by the prince's part; and whosoever else may have deserved ill, she certainly hath neither deserved disrespect nor discomfort. Further, upon my refusal to deliver the powers, all preparations which now go on chearfully and apace, will be stayed, and there will enter in so much distrust, and so many jealousies, that if the main business run not hazard by them, at least much time will be to clear them. I must therefore, in discharge of my duty, tell your Majesty, that I conceive that all your Majesty's businesses here, are in a fair way. The match, and all that is capitulated therein they profess punctually to perform. In the business of the Palatinate they profess, that they infinitely desire, and will, to the utmost of their powers, endeavour to procure your Majesty satisfaction. The Prince is likely to have a most worthy and virtuous lady, and who so much loveth him; and all things else depending on this match, are in a good and a hopeful way.

This is now the present estate of your Majesty's affairs, as it appeareth unto me and to Sir Walter Aston, with whom I have communicated this dispatch, as I do all things else concerning your Majesty's service. And I must clearly let your Majesty understand, that I conceive, by retaining the powers, when this King shall call for them, and offering to defer the *desposorios* until Christmas, that your Majesty's businesses will run a great hazard, what by the distastes and distrusts that will be raised here, and what by the art and industry of those which are enemies to the match; whereof every court of Christendom

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JAMES I. ^{1623.} Christendom hath plenty. That therefore which I presume, with all humility, to offer unto your Majesty is, that you would be pleased to give order with all possible speed, that when the business shall come cleared from Rome, and that the powers for the marriage shall be demanded of me on the behalf of this King, that I may deliver them, and no ways seek to interrupt or suspend the *desposorios*, but assist and help to a perfect conclusion of the match; and that for the business of the Palatinate, I continue my earnest and faithful endeavours to engage this King as far as shall be possible, both for the doing of all good offices for the Prince Palatine's entire restitution, as likewise for this King's declaration of assistance, in case the Emperor or Duke of Bavaria shall oppose the said restitution. Herein I will not fail to use all possible means, and, I conceive, that the dispatch of the match will be a good pawn in the business; and the help and assistance which the Princess being once betrothed would be able to give in this court, to all your Majesty's business, would be of good consideration. So fearing I have already too far presumed upon your Majesty's patience, I humbly crave your Majesty's pardon, &c.

Your Majesty's, &c.

Madrid,
the 24th of October 1623.

BRISTOL.

The Same to the Same.

May it please, &c.

Nov. 26th.

ON the of November *st. vet.* arrived here Mr. Killegrew, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Grisley, all with your Majesty's dispatches, and the duplicates of them; which shall be exactly and punctually obeyed. And for that the dispatches I sent from hence on the 24th of this month,

month, in which I specified the nomination of the 9th of December JAMES I.
1623.
ſto. nov. for the *despoſorios*, I conceive your Maſteſty may be in ſome perplexity until you know the arrival of thoſe your directions, and the exact obedience that ſhall be given to what you are pleaſed to command; I held it fit to leave your Maſteſty as few hours as was poſſible in any doubt, and therefore have, the very ſame night, ſent away Peter Killegrew; by him to let you know, that that part of your Maſteſty's commands which concerneth the deferring of the *despoſorios*, Sir Walter Aſton and myſelf have intimated unto the Condé de Olivares; and ſo likewiſe is the reſt concerning the Palatinate, which, to-morrow, Sir Walter Aſton and myſelf will draw into writing, and deliver to this King.

As for my departure from this court, it ſhall be with all ſpeed, to caſt myſelf at your Maſteſty's feet, where I am no way diffident to appear an honeſt and faithful ſervant. Though being engaged for more than fifty thouſand crowns for the Prince, and all my wife's jewels at pawn, and having no means nor credit on this ſide of the ſea, for a quarter of the money which is neceſſary for my journey, I humbly beſeech your Maſteſty to take it into your conſideration, that your Ambaſſador's going from this court, may not be like a running away in debt, and leaving his wife and children in pawn; but rather than fail punctually to obey your Maſteſty's commandments, I will come home on foot. In the interim, for that I find my proceedings blamed by a letter that ſaith it was of your Maſteſty's dictating, with order to ſhew it me, I moſt humbly beſeech your Maſteſty to paſs your eyes on the incloſed paper, which is, what, on ſo great a ſudden, I can ſay to juſtify my proceedings; which, if it ſatisfy not your Maſteſty, I muſt have recourſe unto your Maſteſty's grace and goodneſs, and to the integrity and fidelity of mine own intentions; for my conſcience beareth me witneſs, that I have committed no error through want of zeal or affection to your

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ISTOL.

Killegrew, Mr.
patches, and
ually obeyed.
24th of this
month,

JAMES I. honour and service. And so wishing unto your Majesty all increase
 1623. of happiness, &c.

Your Majesty's, &c.

Madrid, the 26th of Nov.
 1623, 8^{vo}. vii.

BRISTOL.

Earl of Bristol and Sir Walter Aston to the Same.

May it please, &c.

Dec. 26.

BY our letters of the 6th of December we gave your Majesty an account of what answer we had then received in writing, unto that which had been formerly propounded by us in your Majesty's name, in the business of the Palatinate. Since, we received another answer upon the memorial we delivered according to your Majesty's directions signified to me the Earl of Bristol, by your letters of the 13th of November, which falleth out to be such, as, in our above-mentioned letters of the 6th of December, we told your Majesty we feared it would be, much worse, and much more reserved than any we had formerly received; it being rather indeed an expostulation than any direct answer to any point by us propounded.

Hereupon we held it fit to have recourse unto the Condé de Olivares, and the rest of the Council of State, representing unto them, what had been signified unto us, to have been the resolution of the Council the 22d of November, viz. That this King was resolved to procure your Majesty entire satisfaction; and that the Condé de Olivares had wished us to signify so much to your Majesty in this King's name, and intreated us to empawn our honours and our lives, if need were, for the faithful performance of it, and that he had assured us we should receive so much in writing before the *deposorios*: that we had accordingly, as we were desired, given your Majesty such assurance: that we now desired that we might be able
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to let your Majesty know the true cause of this alteration, and whether this King had changed his former resolution of procuring your Majesty satisfaction, and upon what ground. They plainly let us know, that this King, out of his love and desire of friendship with your Majesty, was resolved to employ his utmost endeavours for the procuring your Majesty entire satisfaction; but, to have it extorted from him by way of menace, or that it should now be added to the marriage by way of condition; and that his sister must be rejected unless the King would undertake to give satisfaction, and that, by declaring that he would make a war against the Emperor, if need were; whatsoever the King's resolutions might be in the business itself, he could neither with his honour, nor with the honour of his sister (whom he would no way force or thrust upon the Prince), make any other answer for the present, than what he had done. We then let them understand that we conceived that they much mistook the manner of your Majesty's and Prince's proceeding; first, for any menace, we knew of none more than what the nature of the business itself implied, which was, that there was no great likelihood of continuance of much love and friendship betwixt your Majesties, whilst this King should remain with the estate* of your children, or whilst indeed this business should not be fully accommodated; but for your Majesty's manner of proceeding, as it was with great freeness and reality, so it was with much love; for your Majesty being, in nature and honour, obliged to procure the restitution of your children, desired that therein you might rely upon this King's friendship without being constrained to seek other courses, wherein being of late somewhat discouraged, by reason of the giving away of Beckstrott, and this King's giving the title of Elector unto the Duke of Bavaria, your Majesty had thought it fit to bring this business to some certain issue, and to know how far you might rely upon this King's friendship herein; to the end that, at the same

* The Palatinate.

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time that your Majesty contracted alliance with this King, you should not be forced to make leagues and confederation with all the enemies of the House of Austria; but that, jointly with a marriage, your Majesty might make a perfect and sincere friendship betwixt your crowns and posterities, and remove all occasions which might interrupt it.

After many several debates, this King hath been contented to make unto your Majesty the same full answer which was intended before the deferring of the *desposorios*; and we have procured it to be under this King's hand, by way of letter unto your Majesty; although, in point of honour, the Council of State will not let the original letter be sent unto your Majesty, until it may be delivered by way of answer unto some letter of your Majesty's; but it is firmed by this King, and so deposited, with promise to be delivered unto us upon the first letter we shall procure from your Majesty touching the business of the Palatinate. In the mean time, I have the said letter, attested by the Secretary of State, delivered unto us as this King's answer to our propositions, which we here send originally unto your Majesty, together with the translation of it. And we assure your Majesty, it hath not been the easiest part of our negotiation, to procure it in this form, for they here judged it strange, that your Majesty having written nothing to this King, we should press to have this King's answer, by way of letter unto your Majesty, or otherwise than by act of Council, which is the usual form to all memorials, and especially in this conjuncture.

Your Majesty may therefore be pleased to command such a letter to be drawn and sent, as may justly occasion such an answer; the which, we humbly conceive, if it be merely a letter of credence for us, in the businesses of the Prince Palatine, will be fittest; for that all things contained in this King's present letter, are in answer of the particular points of our memorial; and I the Earl of Bristol was sent unto, to know if I had any blank of your Majesty's; for that,
upon

upon any letter I would deliver from your Majesty in this business, JAMES I.
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the King's original letter should be delivered by way of answer.

So that the estate of the business of the Palatinate we conceive to be the same it was before the deferring of the *desposorios*, only with the loss of so much time, and that we yet want the assistance and intercession of the Princess.

We have likewise moved this King that, in conformity of that which he now hath promised unto your Majesty, he dispatch presently unto the Emperor, and write effectually unto him for to come to a speedy conclusion of the business, which is promised unto us, and we will be careful to see the post dispatched away. Though, as your Majesty's faithful servants, we cannot but present unto you our humble opinions, that the way to come to a speedy conclusion of this business is, speedily to conclude the marriage; for if that shall not really be proceeded in, it is not to be supposed that the friendship between this King (whose Ministers stick not to declare, that he cannot but judge his sister not well used) will easily find means to frustrate any effects your Majesty may expect from his mediation or friendship; but the match being really and speedily brought to a conclusion, we cannot but be very hopeful that all things else will follow to your content. And so, most humbly wishing unto your Majesty all increase of happiness and prosperity, we recommend your Majesty to God's holy protection, and rest

Your Majesty's most humble and most
faithful servants and subjects,

Madrid, the 26th of Dec.
1623, *per. vet.*

BRISTOL.
WA. ASTON,

JAMES I.

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Harleian
Collection.
No. 6798.
No. 43.

The Answers of the Earl of Bristol to certain Interrogatories intended for His Majesty's private satisfaction, with a reserve for a permission of making recourse to such other things as may be farther necessary to his clearing.

Interrog. 1. **W**HETHER did you think yourself really dealt withal by the Emperor and his Ministers, when you were his Majesty's Ambassador in Germany?

Answ. He saith, that he guided himself by public and avowed answers which were given him by the Emperor under his hand, and the Imperial Seal; and conceiveth that it becometh him with great modesty and caution, to censure the thoughts and intentions of so great a Prince, but referreth himself therein, to his dispatches of that employment, wherein he dealt honestly and faithfully with his Majesty, by advertising truly what he understood or thought then upon the place; and hath many great testimonies of the extraordinary satisfaction which his Majesty expressed to have of his fidelity and industry in the said employment. And at his return gave an account thereof first to his Majesty and the Lords, and afterwards to the Parliament. He saith further, that he then moved his Majesty, that he would not rely upon single treaties, but that he would actually declare himself, and maintain an army under his own standard, for the defence of the Palatinate, which resolution his Majesty was pleased to take. He likewise addeth, that not only his actions mentioned in the next article, but his letter unto his Majesty, and the Lords, bearing date the 26th of July 1621, wherein he beseecheth them that they would not, upon any hopes, lay aside the care of all fitting preparations for a war, in case a peace might not

honourably be had, are sufficient testimonies on his behalf, that JAMES I.
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though he dare not give any censure upon the Emperor's thoughts, nor cast any aspersion of indirect proceeding upon so great a Prince, yet his care, industry and advice was to have the worst prevented.

Interrog. 2. Whilst the affairs of Bohemia and Germany had a face of strength on the King's son-in-law's side, did you press the King of Spain's Ministers to particular resolutions; and if you did not, why did you give such large and confident assurances of their real dealing, as many of your letters speak?

Ans. w. To the said interrogatory, he answereth to the first part thereof, that while the affairs of Bohemia and Germany had a face of strength on the King's son-in-law's side, the King of Spain and his Ministers were, by Sir Francis Cottington, and Sir Walter Aston, (who then resided in the Court of Spain) pressed with all earnestness to particular resolutions, as all occasions required; which he knoweth, for that he was acquainted with his Majesty's directions and their dispatches, which are ready to be produced, by which it will appear, that like good Ministers they omitted nothing in that kind, that was to be done.

To the second clause of the interrogatory he saith, that by the distinguishing of times he conceiveth, that it will appear that the business is much mistaken, both concerning his letters, or any assurances given by him. For it is most certain that all was lost, before his letter out of Spain beareth date; by which it will be apparent, that he hath been very unfortunate to have the loss of things attributed to the hopes he gave from Spain, when there was nothing left when his letters came unto his Majesty's hands, which are pretended should (through hopes given by them) have detained his Majesty from taking some other course than what he did, for the defence of the Palatinate; as it will be made manifest by that which followeth. In the year of God 1619, the Prince Palatine took the Crown of Bohemia; the Summer following, the Marquis Spinola took all that
which

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which he holdeth on the Lower Palatinate. In the month of November next ensuing, the battle of Prague was lost. In the month of February 1620-1, the Princes of the Union disbanded, and exposed the Palatinate to the enemy, which, by the industry of the Earl of Bristol, was for that time saved by the suspension of arms he then procured at his being at Brussels, which he will show was by his Majesty, the Prince Palatine, and the Duke of Deuxponts, acknowledged. In the year 1621, the Upper Palatinate was abandoned by Mansfelt, and taken by the Duke of Bavaria. In the month of July, the same year (the war being revived) the castle of Stien was taken by Don Gonzales de Cordova; and Sir Horatio Vere held it fit, in regard of the inequality of power, to leave the field, and put all his forces into three towns, Heidelberg, Manheim, and Franckendale, which was all that was then left. At the same time he saith, that he was earnestly requested by the Council of Heidelberg to come unto them from Nurembergh, where, at his coming, he found all things in miserable confusion and want: he then succoured and relieved them, and Franckendale, which was then besieged, by the troops which were brought down by his procurement. And the Council of Heidelberg, the Prince Palatine himself, and his Majesty have been pleased (as he can well show) to acknowledge a second time of the saving of the remnant of the Palatinate, to his care and industry. Hitherto he conceiveth nothing excepted to, against any of his letters or proceedings. In the year 1622, he began his journey towards Spain, and arrived about July 1622, but it was August before he did negotiate, by reason of the expectance of the Condé de Gondemar; about which time the Duke of Brunswick and the Marquis of Baden received their overthrows; and presently after Heidelberg was lost with little resistance; so that there remained only Manheim and Franckendale; for the saving whereof, he procured the King of Spain to write his letters, not of mediation, but to command his forces to be assistant to the English, and not to permit them to be wronged,

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wronged, or assailed by any other. These letters bear date the 29th of October; and his Majesty is pleased to write of them in his letters of the 24th of November, as followeth: "That howsoever the order given unto the Infanta for the relief of Manheim arrived too late, and after the town was yielded into the hands of the enemy Tilly, yet we must acknowledge it to be a good office of your negotiation, and an argument of that King's sincere and sound intention." So that he doubteth not but that he will appear to the world, that neither any thing hath been lost by the hopes which his letters gave, nor hath he neglected any duty, that by a faithful servant in this could be done, as his Majesty is pleased to acknowledge by his letters of the 1st of January 1622-3, a few days before the Prince began his journey towards Spain, in express terms; viz. "concerning that other "unfortunate knotty affair of the Palatinate, to say the truth, as "things stand, we cannot tell what you could have done more than "you have already."

Interrog. 3. Whether did you judge that the King of Spain would have had a change in religion in England with the match, or some advantageous conditions concerning the Low Countries, or else no Match?

Ans. To this interrogatory he saith, he never heard of any such intention or proposition from the King of Spain, or any of his Ministers: for if he had, he would have rejected it with scorn and indignation, as he did the proposition that was made in 1611, for Prince Henry's being a Catholic; and afterwards other conditions in the year 1614, propounded by the Duke of Lerma, which he would not so much as promise the sending of them unto the King, as will appear by his several dispatches of those times. But of this particular, he never heard any thing. And as for any advantageous conditions, that by the match should have been procured for Spain, touching the Low Countries, he never knew any act was in treaty, or in speech, concerning the Low Countries, that had any relation to this

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match. He craveth leave to make answer thereunto, when he shall have the happiness to await upon his Majesty in person *.

Interrog. 4. Whether did you find that the Ministers of Spain with your treaty with them, did endeavour to keep you in generalities, and to avoid particulars?

Ans. w. He saith that it is true, that the stile of negotiation in Spain is slow, and they are hardly put from generalities. But when the business he treated were ripe, he found them not avoid the coming to particulars; and that on the 12th of December 1622, they agreed to all the points of religion for the match; that then, in the King of Spain's answer in writing, of date, he particularly promiseth the procuring of the dispensation in March or April last, at the farther; and that in the *interim*, all the temporal articles should be agreed, and in conformity thereof, the said articles were treated and agreed: viz. That the proportion should be that which should appear to have been in the King's father's time agreed of; viz. That the *desposorios* should have been within forty days after the arrival of the dispensation, and the Infanta to have begun her journey twenty days after that. And that Don Duarte of Portugal should have been the person that should have attended her, with all other particulars, as will appear by his dispatch.

Interrog. 5. Whether did you take any discontent at the Prince's coming into Spain, or did you hold it indifferent whether he had the Princess with him, or that she should come after him?

Ans. w. He saith, he did not take any discontent at the Prince's coming into Spain, but was infinitely joyed to see him safely arrived; although it is true that he wrote unto his Majesty in his first letter † after the Prince's arrival, that he was glad he was not acquainted with the intention of that journey, for if he had, he should have

* This alludes probably to some overture about the Low Countries, thrown out by the Duke of Buckingham, when he was in Spain with the Prince.

† This letter is printed in Sir D. Dalrymple's Collections, 1762.

protested

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protested against it; and that, although he hoped things might end as happily as they had begun hopefully, yet if they did so, he should attribute it to a particular grace of God, beyond human prudence: for knowing that by the interview of Princes (what through the distastes that commonly arise amongst their Ministers, and other accidents which happen) that friendship and amity is seldom bettered or increased; knowing likewise the dispensation not to be then granted, and fearing lest his Prince's person being in their power, they might make use of it to their advantage in pressing farther points in religion than had been formerly settled; for these, and for divers other greater and more important reasons, which he shall declare unto his Majesty when he shall attend him, he seemed not to approve the journey, out of his judgment and zeal to the King's service and the Prince's safety, but no way out of any dislike or discontent of his own. And for the second clause of this interrogatory, he saith, he did not hold it indifferent whether his Highness had the Princess with him, or that she should come after him; but infinitely desired and laboured, that they might have come together. And he conceiveth the Spaniards that were the cause to hinder it, did extremely ill, and imprudently.

Interrog. 6. Whether did you find more forwardness or affection in the King of Spain and his Ministers towards the Match, before the Prince's coming thither, or afterwards?

Ans. He saith, that before the Prince's coming, he found all forwardness and affection in the Spaniards to the match, and all assurances of their real desiring of it, which could pass betwixt Princes and Christians: and he conceiveth no man will doubt thereof, that shall read his dispatch unto your Majesty, of the 9th of September 1623, wrote then upon an occasion of a rumour that had been raised, that nothing should be really intended in the Match before the Prince's coming into Spain. But he saith, he conceiveth, that after the Prince's arrival in Spain, their desires to the Match were

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much increased, by the knowledge of the Prince's person, and by his constant, virtuous, and princely behaviour, by which he won the hearts of all sorts of people unto him, although it be true that some personal distastes did then put the business in much distraction. But the time when he conceiveth the Match was by the King and all men in Spain most desired, was, after the Prince's departure out of Spain. For the Prince having left so great a renown behind, and the King and he having parted upon such affectionate terms, which were continued and much increased by the daily exchange of courteous letters betwixt them, and those disgusts and harshness which had formerly happened by the distastes of their Ministers, being now by absence removed; the King of Spain and the whole Court seemed never so much to desire it, as then. And the King made upon all occasions constant and public professions, that he would, for no earthly regard, fail in one tittle, either in substance or circumstance, of what he had capitulated or promised unto the Prince's Highness. And he had cause to guide himself according to the oaths and protestations of so great a King. And if he had not really and honestly intended as he professed, he is answerable for it, betwixt God and his own conscience.

Interrog. 7. Why did you so confidently inform his Majesty, from time to time, of their real and sincere proceeding in Spain, having been acquainted before with the affront put upon his Majesty with the breach of the treaty concerning the Match of Prince Henry?

Answ. To the first part of the 7th interrogatory, he saith, he never gave his Majesty any hopes of their real proceedings in Spain, but the same that were then given him, without adding or diminishing; neither could he have done otherwise with honesty and safety. Further, the hopes he gave, were never upon conjectures, or vain intelligence, but upon all the assurances both in word and writing, that could pass between Princes and Christians. And if the dispatch he wrote to his Majesty, bearing date the 9th of September 1623, may but

but he perused, he no way doubteth, but it will appear that he was not deceived, but served his Majesty with no less care and vigilancy, than with truth and fidelity. Lastly he saith, he had reason to give such hopes as he did, of that which he never doubted but that it would take effect, until after the stay of the *desposorios*. As for the inference concerning the match of Prince Henry, it being ten or twelve years since, we have many fresh examples, that states alter their resolutions in their designs, and many times their alliances, in much shorter time. But for that the giving a due answer unto this point, by deducing business from Prince Henry's time unto this present, would be of greater length than becometh this answer, he will in a paper apart set down the whole progress of the business, from the year 1611, unto this present time, wherein he no way doubteth but to make it appear to his Majesty, that he hath served him like a good and faithful servant.

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Interrog. 8. Whether did not Mr. Porter at his being in Spain tell you, that the Condé of Olivares said, that it was a preposterous demand for the King of Spain to take arms against his uncle, against the Catholic league, and the House of Austria; and that of the Match he knew nothing, nor what it meant?

Answer. He saith, that not long before Mr. Porter's departure out of Spain, Sir Walter Aston told him, that he had heard that Mr. Porter speaking with the said Condé Olivares, he should deny that there was ever any intention that the King of Spain should assist his Majesty with his arms, in case by other means he could not procure him satisfaction in the business of the Palatinate. And that thereon, he speaking with Mr. Porter, Mr. Porter told him as much in effect. But concerning the second part of this interrogatory, that the Condé of Olivares should tell him, that touching the Match he knew nothing, nor what it meant; he saith, he (Porter) never said any such thing to him as he remembereth, but if he be not much deceived,

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deceived, the clean contrary; and that the Condé should tell him, that for the business of the Match he held it concluded: and this he supposeth to be much more probable, for that he did not only understand, that Mr. Porter went away in that point fully satisfied, having often not only spoken himself with the Lords of the Spanish Council, but also been made acquainted with the good answers he carried back: but he is likewise farther confirmed in that belief, for that, it should seem, Mr. Porter, at his return into England, did not raise any doubt, neither in the Prince nor Duke, but that all was really proceeded in, in Spain; for besides the Prince's journey that ensued thereon, which doubtless would not have been to try experiences; and if that be insisted upon, the contrary will be made apparent. The King is pleased, in his letters of the 7th of _____ to write as followeth: "Right trusty, &c. The dispatch brought us by Endymion Porter, doth give us sufficient assurance of your faithful endeavours and diligence, to expedite those great businesses you have in charge; for which we are pleased to return you both our gracious acceptance and thanks." And so wisheth him to proceed and consummate the whole business of the Match, according to the commission he had. And touching the Palatinate* he writeth, viz. "To say the truth, as things stand, we cannot tell what you could have done, more than you have already." And the Prince in his letters of the 6th of January 1622, all written in his own hand, in answer of those he sent by Mr. Porter, is pleased to write, viz. "Bristol, this is to give you thanks for the successful pains you have taken in all your business, but especially in that of my marriage, &c." and concludeth, "Now I must end as I began, with thanks, for your pains hath deserved that, and much more, And I assure you, you have made good, and, if it were possible, increased the good opinion I had of you."

* At that time, and till the Prince's return from Spain, the Palatinate was a very secondary consideration.

And

And the Duke of Buckingham in his letters of the 5th of January JAMES I.
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1622, to the Condé of Gondemar, in answer of those which Mr. Porter had brought him (which letter was written in the hand of Mr. Cottington, and a long postscript in the Duke's hand) writ in such sort, as did appear, that Mr. Porter had raised little scruple that the Match was in ill terms. And my Lord Duke in his letters at the same time to the Condé of Olivares, which letters I conceive will prove to have been drawn in Spanish by Mr. Porter himself, saith, he hath understood by the relation of Mr. Porter of the offices he doth, for the continuing amity, and an entire union betwixt their Majesties and their Crowns, and particularly how much he doth labour to effect the Match, and to accommodate the affairs of the King's son-in-law, and that thereby he findeth himself obliged to a full resolution, not only to serve the King of Spain in all that he can, but to comply in all things with his Excellency, as his friend and true servant. And as for that the Condé of Olivares should say, he knew nothing of the Match; he would not meddle with what may have passed between the Condé of Olivares and Mr. Porter, but the truth thereof will easily be made apparent by divers letters which he hath, under the hand of the Condé Olivares, in which will be seen, that he both treated, and knew of the Match, before Mr. Porter's arrival. Besides the discourse of the Condé of Olivares, which hath been so much spoken of in the world, for the transferring of the Match for the Prince unto one of the Emperor's daughters, beareth date while Mr. Porter was at Madrid, and thereby it will appear, that he had formerly heard of the Match.

As for the other point concerning the Palatinate, he affirmeth, that all he had said of the professions, to assist his Majesty with armies, is true, and he caused as much to be affirmed to Mr. Porter, at his being in Spain, by the Condé Gondomar and Sir Walter Aston; and sending to the Condé of Olivares to expostulate with him of that which he understood he should have said to Mr. Porter, he answered him concerning Mr. Porter, that, which he willingly omitteth, but

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for the business he shall have ample satisfaction, for that the King's intentions were still the same, and that whensoever he would come to the King, he would not make nice to speak again whatsoever he had promised; whereupon having audience appointed him within two or three days, there being an infection at that time in his house, of which divers of his servants had died, on that very night before he should have had audience, he intreated Sir Walter Aston to go alone to the King, who was pleased, upon his moving the business of the Palatinate, to make unto him, in the same form of words, the same answer, which he made to them both at the Escorial, wherewith Sir Walter Aston acquainted Mr. Porter, in his presence, and some others. And if he be not mistaken, Mr. Porter accompanied Sir Walter Aston that day, and kissed the King's hands, and seemed rather to be very sorry that the Earl of Bristol had pressed the business so far, than that he any way remained unsatisfied: herein he humbly beseecheth, that Sir Walter Aston's dispatches may be produced, which he conceiveth must bear date about the 12th or 13th of December 1622.

Interrog. 9. Why did you not press, before the Prince's coming into Spain, the restitution of the Palatinate, to the person of the King's son-in-law and his successor, in all particular points, both in matter and form?

Ans. He saith, that before the Prince's coming into Spain he did press the restitution of the Palatinate to the person of the King's son-in-law and his successor, in all particular points both in matter and form, as will appear by his several dispatches, and is acknowledged by his Majesty, by his letters of the 7th of January 1622-3, it being but few days before the Prince's coming into Spain, wherein he saith, concerning the affairs of the Palatinate, "To say the truth as things stand, we cannot tell what you could have done, more than you have already."

Interrog. 10. Did you, upon all occasions, as you had ample cause, represent the merit of his Majesty, or did you at any time let it fall or undervalue it?

Ans.

Ans^w. He saith, he did, upon all occasions, as he had ample cause, represent the merit of his Majesty; neither did he at any time let it fall, or undervalue it, as will amply appear by sundry of his dispatches, and many memorials in that business, ready to be produced.

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Interrog. II. When the breeding of his Majesty's grand-child with the Emperor was propounded, (which implied a conversion of him,) did you reject it, or did you think it advantageous and counsellable for his Majesty?

Ans^w. He saith, that the breeding of his Majesty's grand-child with the Emperor, as he remembereth, was never propounded to him, but in the presence of such* as befitted not him to reject, or accept of it; but when the Match for him, with the Emperor's daughter, hath been singly at any time propounded to him, he hath faithfully represented it to his Majesty. But for the inference, that by the parenthesis is made (that his conversion was thereby implied) he never imagined it, nor seeth ground for it. For if the meanest Princess in Christendom, matcheth with the greatest Monarch, capitulateth for the full use of her conscience, he knoweth not upon what ground it is supposed, that it should have debarred the King's grand-child; neither ever understood he but he should have had his family such as his Majesty, and his father, had appointed for him; and this may less be inferred, as he supposeth, in the Emperor's Court, than in any Court of Christendom; for that he remembereth the young Prince of Anhalt being the Emperor's prisoner, and after being set at liberty, but with condition to continue in the Emperor's Court, the free use of his religion was not denied; so likewise two of the Dukes of Saxe, who were in the Emperor's service, and divers others, both counsellors, and of his bed-chamber, and of his chief commanders in the wars, are avowed Protestants; and in Vienna itself there is a congregation of fourteen or fifteen thousand, which publicly and avowedly have the free use of their religion. And as for the second cause, whether

* i. e. The Prince, and the Duke of Buckingham.

JAMES I. ^{1624.} he thinketh it advantageous or counsellable or not, he judgeth it more or less counsellable, and advantageous, according as the state of affairs shall stand, and as the conditions shall be made better or worse, by the treaty of them.

Interrog. 12. Whether did you think it the way for the greatness of England, to have the King thereof, under the obedience of the church of Rome; or did you ever judge it convenient and requisite for the Prince himself, in contemplation of that Match, to conform himself to the Roman Catholic religion?

Answ. He saith, he never did, nor doth think it the way, for the greatness of England, to have the Kings thereof under the obedience of the church of Rome; and he is very much grieved that any such interrogatory should be asked him, having, all the days of his life, and in all places, lived and approved himself a Protestant, and never having done, publicly or privately, any act that was not suitable to the same profession. He further saith, that, in all his foreign employments, for the space of fourteen years, of more than five hundred persons, of all qualities, that have attended him, there was never any one perverted in his religion, save two Irish footmen, who in England had been bred Papists; and if his Majesty be pleased to take further information, he humbly beseecheth his Majesty to send for not only Dr. Mew and Dr. Wren, the Prince's chaplains, which were with him in Spain, but for Mr. Sandford, one of the Prebends of Canterbury, Mr. Boswell, Parson of St. Lawrence London, and Frewyne, deputy reader in Magdalen College in Oxford, who have all been his Chaplains in Spain; as likewise such Catholics as are known to have been long his ancient acquaintance and friends, and to examine them upon oath, whether, either publicly or privately, either in Spain or England, they have known him, in any kind, to make show, or so much as to forbear upon all occasions avowedly to declare the religion he professeth; and therefore he humbly beseecheth, if that out of any discourse or argument he held *pro* or *con*, upon
misunderstanding

misunderstanding or mistaking of arguments, any information hath been given, or any assertion made, whereupon that interrogatory may have been grounded, his Majesty will cause the said accusations to be set down in writing, and he will not fail therein to give his Majesty full and entire satisfaction. To the second part of this interrogatory he saith, he did never either invite, by persuation of his own, or by procuring conference of others, the Prince to be a Roman Catholic; nor did he judge it convenient and requisite for his Highness (in contemplation of that Match) to conform himself to the Roman Catholic religion, or to any part belonging to it.

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Interrog. 13. When the Prince found it convenient for his affairs, and his duty to his father, to return, did you oppose it or no, and if you did, then upon what grounds?

Ans. He saith, when the Prince found it convenient for his affairs, and his duty towards his father, to return, he did never oppose it; but he remembereth, four or five days before Mr. Secretary Cottington was sent out of Spain into England, there was some serious debate before the Prince, about his going or sending Sir Francis Cottington; at which time he spoke that which, in his judgment and conscience, he thought fittest for the King and Prince's service, as becometh a Minister and Counsellor of the King to do; and this was about the 25th of May, some months before any thing was concluded, and divers months before the Prince's departure out of Spain; and all things after this were approved and ratified by the King and Prince.

Interrog. 14. When there was an addition of articles, and a distinction between public and private articles, did you then persuade the Prince to come into those articles of addition, did you assure or persuade him, that the oath was required only to the public articles, and not to the private, and did you deal plainly with him in that or no?

Ans. To the first clause he saith, that in the articles of addition he never persuaded the Prince to any, but unto such as he had order

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from the King sufficiently to warrant him; and he saith, that all the said articles of addition were settled in a junto of the commissioners on both sides, where the Prince was pleased to assist himself in person, where all things, as they were concluded, were drawn up into a formal kind of journal, by the Secretary Cirica, and Mr. Secretary Cottington, out of which all the particular articles were to be drawn, as well those that were to be sworn, as those which were only to be signed or promised, for which the said journal served as a rule. All the articles and all things else, which the King of Spain was to promise, were afterwards drawn up into the body of one entire treaty, whereof he knew nothing. But the Prince swore not all contained in the said volume, for much thereof belonged not to him, but to the King of Spain, and he swore only to those particulars, which were agreed he should swear to, and so it was expressed by the Secretary at the taking of his oath, in these very words, *V. A. juro io que a de jurar, prometto que a de prometer*. That the Prince should swear that which it was agreed he should swear, and promise what was agreed he should promise. And indeed, in the body of every article, it is punctually set down whether it be to be sworn, or signed, or to be promised; and this is the truth of that which really passed, wherein, as he understandeth it, there hath been committed no kind of error, neither did he ever hear it questioned until now. And he saith, that he did then deal plainly with his Highness, as he doth now truly with his Majesty.

Interrog. 15. Did you not find by the Prince, that he took himself neglected, and attempted on to be oppressed, by the Spanish Ministers, in their demands?

Ans. w. To the first part of this interrogatory he saith, that he doth not remember that ever he found by the Prince, that he took himself to be neglected, neither ever saw he cause for it, during the Prince's being there; for it was not possible that there could be an higher estimation and value set upon the worth and person of any man, than he understood

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understood ever to be in that Court, of the Prince's person and virtue. Petty omissions in matter of service or entertainment, it may be there were many, but other neglects he never remembereth to have observed the Prince to take notice of, neither doth he believe that the Prince ever did; in which belief he is confirmed by his Majesty's letters bearing date the 18th of October, written since the Prince's coming home, in these words following, "We will that you repair
 " presently to the King, and give him knowledge of the safe arrival
 " of our dear son to our Court, so satisfied and taken with the great
 " entertainment, personal kindness, favour, and respect he hath received from that King and Court, as he seems not able to magnify
 " it sufficiently; which maketh us not to know how sufficiently to
 " give thanks; but will that you by all means endeavour to express
 " our thankfulness to that King and the rest, to whom it belongeth,
 " in the best and most ample manner you can." The Prince, by his letters of the same date, commandeth him to assure that King, that he will never forget the favours he did him whilst he was in his Court; so that he conceiveth he hath no cause to judge that the Prince held himself neglected. For the second point, it is true, that, under colour that the King of Spain was to take an oath to the Pope, for the performance of all that was by his Majesty promised in point of religion, they insisted, as it were for a counter-security, upon many things which were never before spoken of; but it was well known that he dealt freely with the Condé of Gondemar, and the Condé of Olivares, letting them know, that it was an unworthy and a discourteous proceeding with his Highness, to make his condition the harder for the great obligation he had put upon them, by so freely putting his person into their hands. For they well knew that the business was settled and agreed with the Earl of Bristol before the Prince's coming. And therefore, now to insist upon any thing further, was neither noble nor fair proceeding. Hereupon they grew very discontented with him, and laboured, as much as was possible, to avoid him,

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him, of all men living, in their further negociation; and that this was really so, and not now alleged by way of answer, will appear by his letters unto his Majesty, of the 9th of September 1623; so that in this particular he then did, and still doth, much blame the course they held with his Highness.

Interrog. 16. Whether had you ever any information given you (as rising from faith to his Majesty) that the Match was not intended but to win time, except his Majesty would grant an absolute toleration of religion in his dominions, and a restoration of the rebels and fugitives of Ireland to their estates; and of any attempts to be made against any of his Majesty's dominions, if the Match should break?

Ans. To the 16th he saith, that if any particular person, or the time, had been specified in the interrogatory, he would have made a clear answer, which now he only can do by conjecture; for that divers (some by way of intelligence, some to cozen him, and to raise distrust, set on by the Ministers of other Princes, that desired to cross the Match), have spoken to him somewhat towards the effect of this Interrogatory. But the party that he remembereth to have spoken unto him, nearest to all the points of this interrogatory, was one Mr. Lascelles at Brussels; but there was no kind of ground or probability in any thing that he said; only, being in want, he desired to have got some money of him, and pretended to serve the King, by way of giving intelligence, so that he might have an entertainment, which he promised to acquaint the King withal, as he did at his return; but, as he remembereth, the King said, he was an idle cozening fellow, and would not give way to have any thing given him. Divers others may have spoken to him something tending to this purpose, whereof he remembereth not the particulars, but he used not to make such kind of men's frivolous or fancied adventures, a rule for the guiding of his actions and judgment: that which he relied on was, the solid judgment and advertisement of Sir Francis Cottington, and Sir Walter Aston, out of Spain, as will appear by
their

their several dispatches; and his last embassy into Spain was grounded upon the assurances and professions which were made in Spain unto them, that this young King meant really to pursue the treaties, which were on foot with his father, and to proceed with his Majesty in the speedy effecting of them.

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Interrog. 17. Whether did you give advice to the Prince to stay till Christmas, and so consequently to the Spring, in hope to bring the Infanta with him?

Answ. He doth not remember positively to have given the Prince any such advice, to stay till Christmas or the Spring; but thinketh, that, by way of pondering and debating the case, he may have held discourse with the Prince tending to that effect.

Interrog. 18. When the Prince was returned, and his Majesty expressed to you, by his letters, his resolution to couple the proceedings of the Match, and restitution of the Palatinate together, and you had taken knowledge of it, why did you change your counsels, and appoint a certain day for the *desposorios*, and that so shortly, as it was no ordinary diligence that could or did prevent it?

Answ. First, he saith, For his proceedings to consummate the Match, he hath warrant and instructions under the King's hand. Secondly, It was the main scope of his embassy. Thirdly, He was enjoined it by the King's and Prince's commandments under their great seals. Fourthly, He hath positive orders under the King's hand by letters since. Fifthly, It was agreed by capitulation, to be within ten days after the coming of the dispensation. Sixthly, The King and Prince had sworn unto the treaty. Seventhly, They signified to him, by their letters at the very same time, that they intended to proceed in the marriage, and renewed the Prince's powers. Eighthly, The powers were to that end left in his hands. Ninthly, The Prince's royal word, being in the body of the powers engaged, that they should have due execution until Christmas, without revocation or impeachment, he could not stop them without express order, which,

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which, as soon as he had, he obeyed. Tenthly, He had overthrown the marriage without order, for the King of Spain protested to be free of the treaty, if the *deposorios* should be deferred. Eleventhly, He durst not, without a precise warrant, put such a scorn upon a lady whom he then esteemed the Prince's wife, or spouse at least, for as such he was commanded to serve her. Twelfthly, He was himself sworn to the treaty. Lastly, He would not, in honour and honesty, but endeavour to perform that public trust which was reposed in him, when the powers were deposited in his hands, with public and legal declaration, taken into an instrument by the Secretary of State, leading and directing the use of them, and this being now *Instrumentum stipulatum*, wherein the King of Spain was interested, as well by acceptance of the substitutes, as the Prince by granting the powers, he could not in honesty fail that public trust, without clear and undoubted warrant: and indeed that was to be public, and with consent, or at least with notice given of it to the King of Spain. The Earl of Bristol now desireth, that all countermands may be produced, not in generalities, but in the formal words, and then it will appear if they be such as might warrant against the above-specified orders and reasons; for he findeth (under favour) that what he hath been charged withal, formerly by letters, and now is alleged to have been directed him, is far differing from any sense he could ever make out of the supposed direction; and so likewise what is assumed out of his dispatches, will appear to be misunderstood. But herein he desireth that no regard may be had to general allegations, by words of mouth, but that the original papers may be produced and examined, and that by them the cause may be truly stated and judged. But he further saith, that if the resolution specified in the interrogatory had been an absolute and direct command, as it was far from it (as will be after shewn), yet he had incurred no kind of blame, for he had an absolute answer in the business of the Palatine, as will appear by the joint dispatch of Sir Walter Aston and himself,

himself, of the 23d of November; and the Condé of Olivares JAMES I.
1624. wished them, upon their honours and their lives, to answer his Majesty, that he should have entire satisfaction: and so much was in a formal answer to have been delivered in writing, which was the answer afterwards sent the 8th of January, before he could have delivered the Prince his powers: and both he and Sir Walter Aston were so confident that they had complied with his Majesty's desire herein, that they gave him the *Parabien* thereof by their said letters of the 23d of November, writing as followeth: "We hope that your Majesty may, according to your Majesty's desire signified to me the Earl of Bristol, by your letters of the 8th of October, give as well unto your Majesty's royal daughter, this Christmas, the comfortable news of the near expiring of her great troubles and sufferings, as to the Prince, your son, the congratulation of being married to a most worthy and excellent Princess;" by which it will appear that he intended not to have left the business of the Palatinate loose, when he meant to have proceeded to the marriage. But he must confess, that he was of opinion ever, that the best pawn and assurance his Majesty could have for the real proceeding in the business of the Palatinate was, that they proceeded really by the effecting of the Match. And this was ever the opinion of my Lords the Commissioners, and of his Majesty himself, as will appear by his instructions of the 14th of March 1621, signed with the King's hand, viz. "We conceive if the King of Spain hath not a real and sincere intention of giving satisfaction in that which concerns our son-in-law, he would never proceed to a conclusion of the Match. And we shall judge it is an undoubted argument of his meaning to gratify us in the business of the Palatinate, in case he shall go on with the Match." And this opinion still continued in his Majesty and my Lords; for in the King's letter of the 7th of January 1622, his Majesty is pleased to write: "This was the reason that moved us, at the instance of our Council, to urge the business

JAMES I. "business of the Palatinate, so as to bring it to a speedy point."
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Not but that the very precisest of them were always of opinion, that if the Match were once concluded, the other business would be accommodated to our satisfaction: so that he conceiveth, that had this resolution been a precise commandment, he had made no fault, but had complied fully with it, in coupling the two businesses together; and had produced ample warrants for the directing of his judgment therein: but he saith, the cause is far different, for this resolution of his Majesty was only signified unto him by his letters of the 8th of October, by which he is required so to endeavour, that his Majesty may have the joy of both at Christmas; which had been effected, had he not been interrupted. And there was no other way in the world but by proceeding to the marriage, jointly with so real a promise as he had in the business of the Palatinate, whereby there was any possibility of satisfying his Majesty's desire of having the joy of both at Christmas, but that both must otherwise be overthrown, for the Match was, by this direction, for several respects, rendered impossible. First, a marriage being a reciprocal act, the day of celebration cannot be appointed but by a common consent of both parties; but the King of Spain would by no means condescend to the prolonging of the day beyond the term limited by the capitulation, which was within ten days after the coming of the dispensation, but made it formally to be protested, That in case the Earl of Bristol should insist upon the deferring of the *desposorios*, he would hold himself freed from the treaty, the Earl of Bristol infringing the capitulations. Secondly, although the King of Spain should have condescended to have had the *desposorios* prorogued until Christmas, yet was there another impossibility, by reason of the expiring of the Prince's powers before; besides the scorn which would have been put upon the King of Spain and his sister, by nominating a day for the marriage, when the powers are out of date; and this is by his Majesty himself acknowledged, in his letter of the 13th of November

1623, as followeth: "We have received your letters of the 8th of JAMES I.
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 " October, and the copy of that power which was left by our dear
 " son; we have examined and approved your reasons, and do assure
 " you, that if we had seen the power left by our son, before our last
 " letter, we had not written to you in the form we did, in our letters
 " of the 8th of October, touching the time of Christmas." So that
 it is apparent that the Earl of Bristol is no way to be charged with
 any inferences out of this letter, which the King himself acknow-
 ledgeth to have been grounded upon want of due information. So
 that all the fault that herein hath been committed, was certainly the
 concealing of the expiration of the powers from the King, which
 can no way be attributed to the Earl of Bristol. But pre-supposing
 there had been no such error or mistaking, as his Majesty is pleased
 to take notice of in his said letters before, of the 8th of October, yet
 the Earl of Bristol saith, he might not have done otherwise than he
 did, for there was nothing expressed in the said letter, but a desire
 of his Majesty's, that the marriage should be at Christmas, but no
 positive order that it should not be before. Nor in the business of
 the Palatinate was there any order to make it a condition of the mar-
 riage or to be annexed unto it, as without it to break the marriage;
 whereas his main instruction, bearing date the 4th of March 1621,
 under the King's hand, directeth him as followeth: "We would
 " have you by all means to press the restitution of the Palatinate,
 " but not so as to make the treaty of the marriage any way de-
 " pendent thereon." And his Majesty in his letters of the 30th of
 December, expressing his meaning in the former letters of the 8th
 of October, saith, "We have received your joint dispatch in the 6th
 " of December; (viz.) our words, that ever express our meaning,
 " were, that both our affection and our dear son's did constantly
 " pursue, with all earnestness, the marriage with that excellent
 " Princess; our interpretation to you in direct terms was (as we
 " declare it to be our meaning) not to press the restitution of the

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Now the case standing thus, he referreth it humbly to his Majesty's wisdom not only whether he be free from fault herein; but whether, without great fault and imprudence, he could have done otherwise; for he must, upon inferences and collection (and these such as were acknowledged to have been upon wrong information), have gone against his positive and clear orders and instruction, under the King's own hand. It is true, that an Ambassador may sometimes take inferences of warrants, but it must be only when apparently it effecteth or helpeth forward that which he is employed about, but not when it overthroweth or crosseth the main drift and scope of his employment, as it was in this case; for the King of Spain requiring the Earl of Bristol to proceed, or to free him from the treaty, he had been highly faulty to have gone against his Majesty's instructions, and to have overthrown the errand he was employed in, without clear direction and *mandato speciali*.

To the second clause he saith, he did not change his counsels, and that, under correction, his dispatches have been much mistaken in that point, for the case stands as followeth: Sir Walter Aston and the Earl of Bristol had used all industry that was possible to discover how the motion of the deferring of the *desposorios*, upon the coming of the dispensation, would be taken there, and finding an absolute resolution in the King, to proceed punctually according to the capitulations, within ten days after the coming of the dispensation; and at the same time likewise getting advertisement from Rome, that the dispensation was granted, and would presently be there; upon this occasion, and no alteration of his resolution (to the end that in so great a case he might have a clear and undoubted understanding of his Majesty's pleasure), he dispatched away with great diligence, letting his Majesty know, that it would not be possible for him to protract the marriage above twenty-four days, unless he should hazard the breaking

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ing of it, for which he had not warrant; but that this was no resolution, nor that the King was no ways so straitened in time, as is pretended, will appear by the dispatch of the Earl of Bristol's of the 24th of September 1623. In which, upon the scruple that was made of the Infanta's entering into religion, he writeth the same which he did in the dispatch of the 1st of November, viz. That if the dispensation should come, he knew no means how to detain the powers above twenty or twenty-four days; so that although this difficulty happened not until the middle of November, yet it was foreseen that it must of necessity happen, whensoever the dispensation should come, and there was warning of two months time given thereof, viz. from the 14th of September until the 29th of November, which was the day appointed for the *desposorios*, which were prevented by the arrival of his Majesty's letters, commanding the stay of them, bearing date the 13th of November 1623, *scilicet* *vet.* So that he shall most willingly submit himself to his Majesty's censure, which was the safer, or the dutifuller way, to have, upon inferences, overthrown so great a business, (for to that issue it was brought), and he required either to proceed to the *desposorios* according to capitulations, or to have set the King of Spain free from the treaty; or, on the other side, first to have represented unto his Majesty, with truth and sincerity, as he did, the true state of his affairs, with his humble opinion, viz. That it should be judged a great disgrace to the person of the Princess, to have the marriage deferred: That the King of Spain would esteem it a great scorn put upon him, to have a day nominated for the marriage, when the powers should be expired: That the engagements by oaths, and otherwise, on both sides, are great: That the detention of the powers without some emergent cause, would be subject to construction: That this Match so much desired by his Majesty would be overthrown, or at least much time lost: That the conclusion of the Match would in all likelihood secure the restitution of the Palatinate. And in case these reasons should not persuade

his

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Interrog. 19. Whether had you a resolution for the restitution of the Palatinate, and establishment for the temporal articles, before that day?

Answ. For the first part of this interrogatory, he conceiveth to have fully satisfied it, in his answer to the precedent article. Touching

ing the second part thereof, concerning the temporal articles, he saith, that when the *desposorios* was appointed to have been (as he remembereth) on Friday the 29th of August before the Prince's departure out of Spain, which was only hindered because the dispensation came not, the Prince appointed Sir Walter Aston and himself, to meet with the Spanish Commissioners, and they drew up the heads of the temporal articles, wherewith the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham were made acquainted; and in case the dispensation had come, and the *desposorios* been performed on that day, there had been no other provision made for them before the marriage. But presently upon the Prince's departure, he caused them to be drawn into a form, and sent them to his Majesty on the 27th of September 1623, desiring to understand his Majesty's pleasure with all possible speed, especially in case he disapproved any thing, but never received notice of his disliking of any of them, until he recovered those letters which put off the *desposorios*. Yet notwithstanding, Sir Walter Aston and he were very careful to have settled the temporal articles, and they were not only to have been signed before the day of the *desposorios*, but they had begun to treat upon points of conveyance and confederation, as he shall more particularly make known unto his Majesty, when he shall have the happiness to wait upon him.

Interrog. 20. When the approbation of the dispensation came from Rome (which, by a conditional article, was to come clear), why did you accept of it without standing upon the just exceptions, and so seem to redeem the King and his Ministers from the breach of the treaty, and cast colour of fault upon his Majesty and the Prince, who were wholly innocent, and had been clearly apparent so, if you had made right use of it?

Ans. He saith, that when the dispensation came from Rome, it no way belonged to him to take exceptions unto it, neither did he accept

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accept of it, for it was an article agreed, that his Majesty should have nothing to do with the dispensation; but it being only for the satisfaction of the King of Spain, he was to procure it in such sort, as was to satisfy his own conscience; neither was it any thing to his Majesty, whether there were any dispensation or not. That therefore the dispensation could not but be judged clear, when the King of Spain rested satisfied, and desired to proceed to the effecting of the marriage, without insisting upon any further demands. And this was truly the case, for the Condé de Olivares, the very night the dispensation arrived, sent him word thereof, requiring to proceed to the *desposorios* according to the capitulations; but he replied, that he would take no notice of the dispensation to be come, nor clear, until it were in the King's hands, whereupon the next day divers Commissioners came, desiring some declaration, in some points agreed of, and the mending of some words according to the journal of the treaty, which was agreed should be the rule for the drawing of the articles, but he absolutely denied them all, refusing so much as to change or add any one word or tittle; and this he did only to gain time, as he did for twelve days, to the end he might receive directions in the mean time from his Majesty, ere he would see any one condition or article instanced, in which was added for the clearing the dispensation by him; and the Nuncio seeing he could get no more, delivered in clearly the dispensation to the King; for his order indeed was to assay the getting of those alterations, but not so to insist upon them, as any way to retain the business for them. Now when the dispensation was thus in the King's hands, and he, by his Secretary, advising as much, and that he was ready to proceed to the marriage, he conceiveth there neither could, nor can question be made of the clearness of it, that is to say after it was in the King's hands; for before, he admitted not of it, as will well appear, for that he would not suffer the ten days, within which, by the capitulations, the *desposorios*, were to be after the coming of the dispensation, to be accounted from the arrival

of it in Madrid, but from the time that it was clear in the King's hand. On the other side he saith, he was careful to do nothing that might clog the business; for knowing how much his Majesty had desired the Match, and being, by his Majesty's letters of the 8th of October, commanded to proceed to the marriage at Christmas, and the Prince saying in his letter of the same date, that he was induced to yield to the deferring of the marriage till Christmas, because the King might have an answer before that time, in the business of the Palatinate, and so no time need to be lost in a business he desired so much; and afterwards in the said letter he saith, "I have written
 " this, that you may know from me, as well as from the King my
 " father, the intent of this direction, which I assure you is no way
 " to break the Match;" he leaveth it to his Majesty's just and wise judgment, whether it should not have been on the one side, an undutiful, unwise, and unsafe course for him to have raised any such difficulty, as should not have been in his power always to allay it, or as could not have been possible to have been cleared from England, before the time desired by his Majesty, which was Christmas, in case the King of Spain should have been persuaded to have prorogued the *desposorios* until then; and on the other side, to have done or omitted any that might have given the Spaniard just colour or pretext of delay, or drawn the default on myself. It having been then made an objection against the business and himself, that all had been treated only to gain time, and entertain his Majesty, without any real intention of making the Match; and therefore it ill befitted him to be the raiser of any new delays, but to bring the business to a speedy issue; and yet he seemeth to remain under censure, for that it hath not succeeded, so that at one time he is questioned to have proceeded, and blamed because he succeeded not. As for the redeeming of the King of Spain, and his Ministers, from the breach of the treaty, for casting any colour of fault on his Majesty or Highness, he conceiveth he cannot but be absolutely free from it; for until after he was taken

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from the employment, he never understood the treaty to be broken, but only suspended until the business of the Palatinate were settled; for by all his Majesty's and the Prince's letters, even until he was recalled, he never knew any other intent but to proceed therein; and to that end likewise the Prince's powers were renewed unto him; and since the taking of the business off his hands, he saith, he hath so much desired the having nothing to do therewith, that he ingenuously confesseth, that he knoweth not how, or wherefore it was broken, on the one side or on the other.

This is the most humble answer of the Earl of Bristol, intended for his Majesty's private satisfaction, together with such things as he reserveth to be delivered by word of mouth to his Majesty, when he shall be permitted to wait on him: but if his Majesty shall be pleased to call him to any further trial, he then declareth, for brevity sake, and many other reasons, he hath reserved the greatest and most important part of his defence, from which he desireth he may not hereafter be debarred; neither giveth himself for concluded by this answer, unless his Majesty be clearly and fully satisfied, as he hopeth he will. He further humbly beseecheth, that he may not be charged with any error in this his answer, either for defect in words, or for any thing that was not of fault before, or that can only be gathered out of some defect or error of his answer, and not out of things not charged; since he knoweth his Majesty's most pious intent was, by these questions, to have supposed past faults examined, and not occasion to be administered by them of committing new.

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No. XXVIII.

Papers relative to the French Match.

From the originals in the possession of the Earl of Hardwicke.

[King James pursuing the same weak system of policy, that his son could not be honourably matched but with a Catholic Princess, opened a treaty for a marriage with France, as soon as that with Spain was dissolved. He employed in the negociation two of his principal courtiers and favourites, whose names and characters are sufficiently known from the histories of that time. It is proper to observe, however, that the Earl of Carlisle (Hay) appears to have been a Minister of a more generous spirit, and less tractable disposition, than his colleague Holland.]

The following documents are published, for the first time, from the originals, and as they open some of the secret passages of that negociation, are thought not undeserving the public notice. The terms granted to the Papists in favour of this marriage, were as little compatible with the laws of the kingdom, or with sound policy, as those agreed to in the treaty with Spain. However engaging and amiable the French Princess was in her person and accomplishments, her fatal influence in the Councils of her husband, and her constant attachment to the Popish interest at home and abroad, are too notorious to be enlarged upon here.]

From Secretary Conway to Lord Carlisle and Lord Holland.

Right Honourable,

Rufford, 12th Aug. 1624.

YOUR joint letter of the 17th of this present, *sc. novo*, I received the 11th late at night, by the hands of Cook. I did this morning represent it to his Majesty, who found it very strange that

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his

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his good brother should make so strange use of his displeasure to his Minister* the Marquis *de Vieuville*, as to make his ambition or inordinate actions reflect upon his Majesty, and change, or give stop to so happy a negotiation.

His Majesty's pleasure is, that you jointly address yourselves to that King, and that you declare to him, that his Majesty cannot believe that his good brother the French King means to take up the fashion of Spain to intangle this business, of so high and clear condition, with advancements and retractions, to spin out time and expectations unprofitably; nor can his Majesty understand it for reason, to change the state and degree this treaty was in, by disavowing his Minister, who being, according to public faith, in his general calling and practice, and further authorised by a letter of credit, with which also hath concurred the overtures and assurances of that King's Extraordinary Ambassador the † Marquis de Fiatt.

Further, his Majesty's pleasure is, that you declare to his dear brother, that he expects that King, for his own honour as well as for respect to his Majesty, and for the good faith which he reposeth in that King's Ministers, should make good their overtures and promises to him, and not suffer him to partake of the wrong and punishment, which is but that which his Majesty would make good to his dear brother in the like case, howsoever he should punish the Minister; for it is easy to see, how unsafe it is to treat at all, if the disavowing of a Minister should be a just satisfaction to the treaty, and a discharge to that King that should so disavow his Minister.

Further his Majesty's pleasure is, that you declare to that King, ~~that~~ in case he shall resolve, by the disavowing of the Marquis de Vieuville, after his Majesty's protestation, that he cannot agree to any article, nor go further than the letter which was required, and which he hath consented to, and shall press his Majesty to further articles, which the government and reason of state of his kingdoms and

* Just removed from being Surintendant des Finances.

† Ambassador here.

people will not permit, he can make no other construction of it, but that the most Christian King his brother seeks occasion to break the treaty; and so his Majesty wills that you declare that necessarily to be an end of the treaty, which his Majesty hath pursued with so passionate affection, and for so good ends, both for Christendom and these two crowns. His Majesty's pleasure is, you press earnestly that King upon these points, and lay down to him in writing, both what the Marquis de Vieuville said to you of the satisfaction should be taken by a letter, and that not to leave that King such a gap to scape out by; as also the assurances given to his Majesty by the Marquis de Fiatt, which, added to your own arguments, will be sufficient to reduce him to the conditions propounded, or bring it to a resolution, that the treaty is wholly ended.

JAMES I.
1624.

And if you shall not find that before this come to you, or upon these remonstrances, that King shall not have retracted that strange drawing off, but rests upon his power to decline the accord upon the disavowing of his Minister. His Majesty's pleasure is, that you require of that King permission (in the company of some confident servant of that King), to have access to the Marquis de Vieuville, to the end to demand of him, by what warrant he moved the Lord Kensington to assure his Majesty that a letter * only under his Majesty's hand should be satisfactory, that so Vieuville's condemnation wholly, and his Majesty's satisfaction in part, may come out of Vieuville's own mouth.

And this is that which I have in charge, which, for obedience to your commandments, I have hastened so, as you find abundance of errors; excuse it for his sake that submits all he may be valued by otherwise, to the mere affection of being esteemed, &c.

Your Lordship's, &c.

* This letter related to some terms for the Papists, which the King did not chuse to avow publicly.

JAMES I.

1624.

From Walter Montague to the Earl of Carlisle.

My Lord,

THIS day being Saturday, since the arrival of Monsieur de la Riviere, Monf. de Fiatt came to court, bringing the instructions he had received out of France to present to the King the alteration of many words in the King's last explanation, which they pretended to be prejudicial to the Pope, and the alteration of them to be no ways to us. He alledged this reason for this last demand, that they had treated with the Nuncio to procure the delivery of the dispensation, letting him know the necessity of making the marriage, and the impossibility of obtaining their last demand; how far the King of France had pressed them to the hazarding of the business, so that there was no more to be expected but the King's last explanation, which he (the Nuncio) considering, took exceptions at many words that tended, he said, more to the neglect than the satisfaction of the Pope, which words he advised them to endeavour to change, and copied over the last explanation, with many omissions and additions, which of themselves can no longer endanger us, but by the ill consequence any change now may bring with it: this last alteration of theirs they would have signed and dated, as the first are, to avoid the inconvenience of any new treaty; and upon the grant of this they pretend the dispensation may be delivered; and * Ville aux Clercs writes, that you will second this their request; for the King of France's letter to De Fiatt, commands him to obey Ville aux Clercs' order. De Fiatt, to sweeten this, told my Lord, that this was not in the way of treaty, but of a civil request from the King of France to the King of England, to desire his favour in that which might import him his peace with the Pope, and no way disturb our King

* French Secretary of State.

with any essential alteration: so that since the King of England might purchase to himself so great an obligation, and so important a security to the King of France at so easy a rate, he did not doubt of his chearful embracing it.

JAMES I.

1624.

My Lord * at first was startled at the name of changing, but at last went up to the King with both the copies; the King's own explanation, and the new one that came out of France, and came down with this answer; That the King wondered much that the King of France his brother would persuade himself, that since this agreement he would be brought to alter the least tittle agreed upon; that he might as well alter all the treaty as this particular; and that it concerned him only to satisfy *him*, not the Pope; and since he was satisfied, he might find some other means to content the Pope; and being it was but in the way of a request, he could answer him no way, but by a request to pardon him for the refusal of it: and that when he shall hear from his Ambassadors accordingly, he would make his answer by them. De Fiatt then undertook to counsel my Lord, as a friend, to refer it to the Ambassadors; that they, if they found it no ways prejudicial to the King, might assent to it; if they did, to refuse it. My Lord answered again, that he could refer nothing to them which he had not received from them, therefore he ought to pay them that respect, as to determine of nothing without their advice, which he expected shortly: so Fiatt was very well satisfied, and resolved to expect your letters, and upon them to send his answer. My Lord hath writ to you, by this bearer, his mind in this point, pressed you much to dispatch De Fiatt's business, which, we expect by Goring's † journey, depends all upon that, and the raising of 40,000*l.* which will take some days, do we what we can. Your Lordship will have sent away concerning this, before this come to you; this relation I made bold to trouble you with, as having the honour to be present at it. You both know the

* Conwav.

† Sir G. Goring.

heart

JAMES I. heart and the head; the former will excuse this, and all the rest of
 1624. my presumptions. The Lord Steward's * place, the King says, shall
 be no more disposed of.

The Prince being inquisitive concerning your differences with the Ministers, I made him the truest relation my memory could furnish me with; in all particulars his Highness justified you so much, that he said if you had done less you might have passed for kind men, but not for wise, and this I will make good upon him.

I have made him in love with every hair in Madam's head, and swears she shall have no more powder, till he powder her himself.

My Lord Duke vowed to-day before De Fiatt, to do all he could to bring Holland the garter; how much that is you know.

My suit is, that if ever you have occasion to speak to the blessed Queen ‡ of any ill thing, that you express it by naming me, for that's the only way I can hope she should care to hear of me again.

Thus hoping I have been sufficiently troublesome to your Lordship, I rest, &c. &c. &c.

I know not the day of the month †.

From Lord Carlisle to the Duke of Buckingham.

Our most noble Lord,

Paris, Oct. 2, 1624.

October 2.

IF Mr. Packer's of the 16th had brought the wound without the cure, we mean his Highness's mischance §, without his recovery, we had been swallowed up in sorrow and confusion; but the assu-

* Duke of Richmond, who was dead.

‡ Queen-mother of France.

† Walter Montague, the writer of this letter, afterwards turned Papist, and died Abbot

of Pontoise, after the restoration. He was second son to the Earl of Manchester.

§ A fall from his horse.

rance

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ance he gives us, that he is now well and merry, ministers to us that abundance of joy, as we cannot contain from multiplying in humble thanks to your Lordship, who have been pleased so carefully to derive unto us the greatest happiness that could be, from the brink of the greatest misery and affliction; of this duty therefore we acquit ourself first, and in the next place esteem it an effect of much nobleness and favour, that you carry so free and open an heart to us, as to communicate all that passes betwixt this King and your Lordship, out of whose letter we collected, what was carefully concealed from us before, Pere Hyacinth's overtures to the Ministers of this State touching the Palatinate; which gave us occasion to sound the Cardinal* in that point; who finding it strange, that we should come to have any notice thereof (the friar having stipulated an oath from them to conceal it from us, out of a pretended conceit of our averfeness to his propositions, and a hope to find a more satisfactory answer from the King himself; who (said he) had heretofore in a manner agreed to the motions) after that he had understood from us, that we had received some touch thereof from England (as now freed from his oath), he ingenuously related to us the whole story; letting us know the offers to be, the restitution of the Lower Palatinate in present, the restitution of the Upper upon the reimbursement of twelve millions towards the expence, which the said Duke pretends to have made in those wars; but with condition of quitting the Electorate for ever, or at least (and upon a modest suggestion of this State), till it might descend upon a Catholic branch of the Prince Palatine's own stock. Whereupon we let him know the falsehood of the friar, in alledging that facility in the King our master to such unreasonable conditions, and then how acceptable a thing it would be to his Majesty, if this King and State would be pleased henceforth to shut their ears to such impertinent intercourses: Whereupon the Cardinal replied, That they had not listened thus

* Richlieu.

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far to any other end, than by amusing the Duke with some hopes, to conceal the better their more secret intentions and resolutions; and that from henceforth they would put him over to us, whom he wished to entertain friendly, that it might help likewise the better to cover their designs, which (said he) shall be rather with the sword than pen or tongue; and to that purpose assured us that there were new commissions forth for the raising more forces towards an army of 16,000 men, which the King meant to put forth in the Meffin, and to conduct the same in his own royal person. In the other business, which your letter touches upon, we have stirred nothing, neither do we intend, till we receive a new commandment upon noble Goring his relation, whom we expect daily; and so we desire your Lordship to do Monsieur de Botru from hence, whom this King means to post away, to congratulate the Prince his happy deliverance from so desperate a danger. He will come in a private quality, but merits the entertainment of the greatest Ambassador, both for that height of favour he is in with the King and Queen-mother; his intimateness with the Cardinal, and singular good offices he hath done in our business, which alone will make him welcome to your Lordship, whose hands we here most humbly kiss, resting in all humble devotion, &c.

P. S. That of Botru we humbly beseech your Lordship to impart unto his Majesty and Highness in great secret, and so to keep it till you hear further from us; for with this caution were we made privy to it. Your Lordship likewise will please to represent how cordially they proceed here in Mansfield's business; who has not only his money paid him, but his troops here are ready to march. So saith the Cardinal, and therefore desires a like quick and effectual dispatch of him in England, which your Lordship is intreated to procure*.

* This Botru went not, but his brother, a witty gentleman, and favourite of the Queen-mother's.

JAMES I.
1624.*In the Earl of Carlisle's Hand-writing:*

IT will be necessary his Majesty's pleasure should be expressed in the instructions, in what form he will be content the marriage shall be solemnized by *procureur* in France. In the treat * for Madame Christienne, his Majesty did allow of the form which was used in the marriages of the last French King with Queen Marguerite and of that King's sister with the Duke of Bare; but his Majesty then required, that after the coming of the Lady into England there might be some new act performed before some of our Bishops, for the ratifying of what had been done by *procureur*, by the declaration of the persons themselves. and that thereupon they should receive the blessing of our church.

The French Commissioners disliked this demand, as derogating from the rights of their own church; and last of all required to know what the form of the act should be, which was to be repeated in England. It will be in vain to expect a marriage without a renunciation; for besides that all their treaties with other States run on that strain, they hold it most necessary to be stipulated with us in regard of our other pretensions, which they will not admit should be fortified by a new title, not so much as to the collateral successions: besides, the two elder sisters having made renunciations, the youngest must not expect to be treated with more favour, and absolutely it will be labour in vain for us to expect it. It is also to be remembered, that in the treaty with Madam Christienne, his Majesty did admit of the renunciation for the direct line, refusing only the collateral.

The like may be said for the reimbursement †, which is a general condition expressed in all treaties for the daughters of France, and

* In 1616.

† Of the portion.

JAMES I.
1624.

was not forgotten in the treaty his Majesty made for his own daughter with the Elector Palatine, and it seemeth to be grounded upon reason and justice; for otherwise, if the Lady survive her husband, and have a desire to return into her own country and marry again, either she must be endowed the second time, or else in second marriage must depend wholly upon another state for her maintenance, and their portion, having nothing to prefer her but her jointure, which may be made so much the less, according to the custom of France, if you admit of a reimbursement.

Touching the charges of the transportation, they offer to defray her till she embarked, and you to transport her in your ships. After she is arrived in England, will you think fitting the French should bear her charges to London? Touching the jewels which are demanded to the value of 15,000 *l.* sterling, it is an article which is expressed in all treaties, and is of so small a proportion, as is not to be stood upon.

From Secretary Conway to the Ambassadors.

Right Honourable,

London, Oct. 5th, 1624.

Octob. 5th,
1624.

IN a part of my last to your Lordship, I gave you an account how his Majesty had put in deliberation with his Council Conte Mansfelt's propositions, as also the advice the Lords had given for his Majesty to comply in every part of them; but with condition, First, To see the French King's hand both for ratification of the articles and conditions of the whole action; as also for approbation of the rendezvous of the English to be made in France, their quartering, marching, and conjunction with the French, and ease and favour in retreat, either in particular articles or general terms; but howsoever,

to be assured and confirmed by that King's signature made authentic. His Majesty hath now so far approved of the Count Mansfelt's propositions, and the advice of his Council, yet with reservation of this unmovable position, That the hand of his dear brother the French King must declare his conjunction in the action, before he put into execution any thing. Yet thus far his Majesty hath moved, he hath signed a warrant unto his Council of war to pay unto Count Mansfelt, so soon as the French King's hand shall be seen, to the effect above specified, 15000*l.* in assisting of his charge and arming of his troops; and 2000*l.* a month, so long as the action shall last to the ends to be directed.

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1624.

His Majesty hath further consented to the levy of 12000 men by press, to be transported at his cost to the rendezvous in France; letters for the musters are in hand, and commissions to be expedited, wherein, for the honour of our nation, and as a good presage, we hear by Count Mansfelt, that the young Lord Hay's * good fortune shall guide a fourth part of the troop. His Majesty hath written his letters of most gracious and serious recommendation unto the Prince of Orange, my Lords the States, and those of Embden, for favour to the person, freedom and equity to be shewed to Count Mansfelt in his pretences, passage, rendezvous, and accommodation, with an intimation of the merit of his past and future actions, done and to be done, for the public good, and particular interest and service of his Majesty's dear children.

His Majesty hath commanded me to shew your Lordship how far he is advanced upon this work; the rather for your confidence, encouragement, and recommendation, and to the end that he may not extend himself further in a work of ostentation, that may succeed vain, nor make fruitless expences, which the present condition of this state hath least need of; he commanded me to make this express dispatch to you, of which he requires an answer with all the expedition you

* Son to Lord Carlisle.

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1624.

may, and there cannot appear a better ground for your Lordship's pressing a clear understanding in this point, than the first motions of this coming from France; the shortness and necessity of time requiring speedy execution, which challengeth, of necessity, an expression under that King's hand of his consent for the landing, quartering, and marching of the English, to keep it from being an act of hostility, and is consonant with the league of defence which, by your instructions, you are to treat for before the alliance, but was remitted, for comeliness' sake, until the treaty of the marriage had an issue.

This is the charge that I have received, to which I can add nothing, but the establishment of a noble person, Sir Robert Naunton into the Mastership of the Wards; and the effects of an outrageous storm which cast a ship of his Majesty's into a great deal of danger upon a land called the Brake, from whence she was hardly saved; a small pink of my Lord Admiral's sunk, and all the ships disordered, and thirteen or fourteen cast away, with all their men. One of the Dunkirk ships escaped by plain sailing, and another attempted it in that great stress of weather, but whether escaped or sunk we know not yet, but a great disorder happened upon her attempt to go; for a Hollander falling upon her, the King's ship came in to part them, and letting fly equally at them both, with blows of the cannon equally distributed, persuaded them to peace. How the King will take that sauciness at the Hollander's hands I know not. And now like a gentle and sweet calm after this storm, give me leave to tell you the King at Royston, thanks be to God, and the Prince at Hampton Court, are both in good health, and the most excellent Duke, gracious Buckingham, is seeking after health, in Wallingford house, with a chearful mind and glad countenance, which makes him hope he is in the way to find it. And if I knew in what way to put myself to find your commandments, and obey them to your advantage, I would travel to any part for them; from whence I beseech you to judge that I attend them here with the devotion of

Your Lordship's most humble and
obedient servant, &c. &c.

JAMES I.
1624.*From Lord Carlisle to the Prince.*

May it please your Highness,

Paris, Oct. 7th, 1624.

AS your Highness will perceive by our letters to Mr. Secretary, we have pressed, by all the arguments and instances we were able, first the acceptance of his Majesty's letter instead of the *eserit particulier*, and afterwards that they would join with us in a real association, for the restoring of the Palatinate, and patrimonial dignities of his Majesty's children, *en leur premiere estre*, after such time as the marriage should be concluded and consummate, offering in the mean while to content ourselves with a promise in writing, to be signed by this King and his Commissioners, for the real performance thereof, with assurance also, that in the mean while they would not desist to pursue their preparations and actual expeditions, suitable to their so frequent promises and pretences. But we have received a flat negative to our said propositions, which gives us occasion to suspect either their fidelity, or else that the Marquis D'Effiat doth from time to time give them such assurances of our facility in England, as doth traverse all our negotiations here. It may therefore please your Highness to give your humblest servant leave, out of his zeal and devotion to your Highness's service, to represent unto your Highness, that our endeavours here will be fruitless unless you speak unto the French Ambassador in a higher strain, and that my Lord of Buckingham also hold the same language unto him. It is true that they do offer unto us this King's word for their assistance, and that their Ambassador shall give his Majesty the like assurance; but what assurance can be given to the verbal promise of this people, who are so apt to retract or give new interpretations to their former words (especially in a business of this high nature and importance), your Highness, out of your excellent wisdom, will easily discern; neither will there be

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any hazard in speaking to the Ambassador in a high language, considering how we have them here locked up, and engaged to conclude the marriage, whensoever we shall condescend to their demands, touching the *escriit particulier*; and we are confident that if we may be vigorously assisted in England, we shall draw them to better reason touching our second proposition, wherein it will be too much hazard, and less honourable to leave them loose, and to engage ourselves. And we are the rather of opinion that, notwithstanding the countenance they make, they will be brought into reason rather than they will break off this matter, wherein they receive such full satisfaction to all their demands. The Queen Mother having openly declared "qu'il meriteroit d'estre lapidé qui s'y opposeroit;" but I leave all to be weighed in the balance of your Highness's incomparable judgment, and with all humility, attend your Highness's further commandments. As being, &c. &c.

From Lords Carlisle and Holland to Secretary Conway.

Right Honourable, Paris, Oct. 18th, 1624.
O^{ct}ob. 18th. ACCORDING to your order, that yours of the 25th brought us, we first presented to the Commissioners here his Majesty's * letters to be signed only by his own royal hand, and pressed it by all the arguments that either you suggested or our own reason ministred unto us; but we did sing a song to the deaf, for they would not endure to hear of it. In the next place we offered the same to be further signed by his Highness and a Secretary of State, wherein we pretended to come home to their own asking; but this would not

* This related to some favours to the Catholics, which were not to be made public.

serve the turn neither (though long and earnestly contested by us), JAMES I.
 for out of a confidence they had, that his Majesty would not scrupu-
 1624.
 lously insist upon the formality of an *Escrip*t, they had sent that to
 Rome, and made it the basis of all their work towards the Pope's dis-
 pensation, and therefore if they should now go about to change the
 foundation, they should hazard the whole fabrick, and leave the Pope
 possessed of jealousies that the King our Master did but seek ways of
 more ease how to elude the Catholics expectation. And when they per-
 ceived that we continued to make new replies against this allegation,
 they endeavoured to cut all short by telling us, they wondered much to
 see such stiffness in us; when, as Monsieur de Fiatt had written to them
 from the King our Master's own mouth, his Majesty had accord-
 ed whatsoever they fought both for matter and form. We then
 offered to become the Marquis's interpreter, which was, by shewing
 all that fulfilled in this letter, so signed as was meant; but when
 they went further to assure us, that the grant was even to their own
 prescribed form, we pretended much strangeness at the matter, since
 we had received letters of a far other tenor; but here sily inferred,
 upon his confidence of theirs, that if the King our Master was pleased
 to come so thoroughly home in all and every point of their demands,
 we hoped they would meet us by as frank and punctual observance
 of those promises, which they might remember to be solemnly made
 at the beginning of this treaty, that no sooner shall the articles of
 marriage be accorded, but before ever they pressed the signing of
 them, they would enter into another treaty of league, not only de-
 fensive but offensive, for the Palatinate, and to prepare these articles
 also to be signed with the former. We found them not a little sur-
 prized by the motion; for Monsieur de la Ville-aux-Clercs had caused a
 fair draft of the articles for the marriage to be made, in hopes to see
 all our hands to them before we parted. Their answer was, that, for
 a defensive league, there was one already, and if we thought that any
 force might be added to it by renewing it, they were very ready so to

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do; but, for the offensive one, they never promised any till the marriage should be consummated, and then meant it not under writing, but by such a real and actual performance, as they presumed would be more satisfactory than all the articles in the world. We then shewed their own sense to them, and convinced their consciences, by a precise repetition of their own words, first in general to enter upon a treaty of the league, and then every one's in particular, shewing what league; "donnez nous des prestres, quoth the Cardinal, et " nous vous donnerons des Colonels; donnez nous du faste pour contenter le Pape, (says le Vieuville,) et nous nous jetterons dans vos " intersts à corps perdu; and suitably spake the Chancellor, nous " espouserons tous vos intersts comme nos propres." All which they confessed, but pretended to have sufficiently satisfied by the actual concurrence of this King, which they commended further, by promising it in as large a latitude as his Majesty's heart could desire it. But to capitulate with us in writing, would but cast rubs in the way of their dispensation, and make it altogether impossible, since it must needs highly offend the Pope to hear they should enter into an offensive league with Heretics against Catholics, and was like so far to scandalize the Catholic Princes of Germany, as this King should lose all credit with them, whom yet he hoped to win to their better party. But in this point we silenced them by propounding this question to them, Whether they would chuse rather to incur the unjust offence of uncertain friends, or the just offence of him that was likely to be the best friend they had in the world? And then the difficulty of the dispensation we removed, by complying with them thus far, that the public treaty should be suspended till that was obtained, provided that, for the present, they would procure a promise under this King's hand and their own, that when that danger should be once avoided, they would give his Majesty that full satisfaction which is now required, and in the *interim* would actually perform, on their part, towards Mansfeld's expedition, as much as the King our Master

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should do on his. Their answer was, That they could not condescend to any thing in writing; but if the King's faith and promise would serve the turn, that should be renewed to us here, and to his Majesty likewise by their Ambassador in England, in as full and ample manner as we could desire it. We told them, that Princes were wont to build great designs, such as were those of peace and war, upon surer foundations than bare words. And why, quoth Count Schomberg, should you call into doubt the King's word, especially in a matter wherein his honour and interest are as far engaged as those of the King your Master's? You do not hear us, answered we, call the King's word in question; but if he be so far interested as you pretend, give us leave to find it so much the more strange, that he makes such great difficulties, to oblige himself to them by writing. The final conclusion of this conference was, that they would consult the King's further pleasure herein, and let us know a full resolution the day following. But then likewise we received a flat negative to either of our demands; neither availed it ought to allege unto them the King's own promise *totidem verbis* to the contrary, no more than it did to resound in their ears the reason and equity of our motion otherways; besides the good grace wherewith he might eternally oblige the King our Master, in an occasion that tended equally to his own honour and profit, and which being lost, there was no appearance of ever meeting with the like to endear his cordial affection to him. To all which they had nothing to reply but to inculcate their former offers, of the King's verbal assurance still, and to make a buckler of their forwardness in Mansfeld's business, to whom they had not only advanced their own monies, but that which the State of Venice was quoted to likewise, so to remove the inconvenience that might happen in the levies of his troops through their slackness. They had no will to tell us the reason that the Venetian Ambassador plainly delivered to them, of this their slow pace in a matter of so high importance; which therefore we refreshed their memory with, by tell-

JAMES I.
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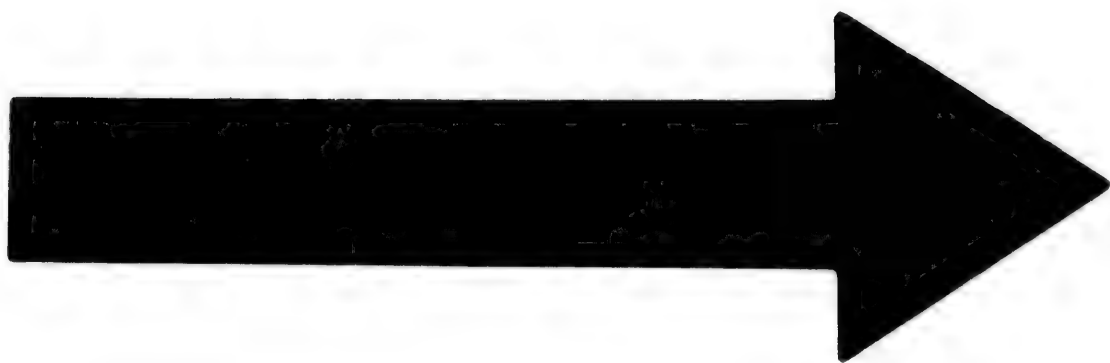
ing them, how that state had, these six or seven years together, offered such security, and been so plain in all their proceedings, as they must not think strange if now they kept centinel to descry thoroughly into those mystical ways of theirs, that so they be not anew decoyed. The Cardinal's answer was, how they were not to become responsible for their predecessors faults; that the world should see them walk another and more constant course; and, to pursue to a conclusion his argument which we had interrupted, told us, that sixteen hundred horse were ready to march, and so were the companies of foot likewise, which the said Mansfeld was to receive from thence. But is this all the answer, quoth we, which we are like to receive from the propositions we make you? We have no other to return, said they. Why then, quoth we, let us give you an expedient of compounding all this difference; give us the *escriit secret*, which we desire; and to let you see what little inconvenience the King your Master shall incur thereby, we will oblige ourselves, upon our honours, nay upon our salvations, to procure that care in your concealing it, as (the contents thereof being observed by this King) it shall never pass the knowledge of his Majesty, his Highness, the Duke of Buckingham, and our Secretary of State. But when we found this notice likewise rejected, upon no other pretensions than this, that it was extremely unseasonable at this present time to hazard the offence of the Pope under the trust of other men's secrets; we then thus parted with them; " Well, since we can obtain no better reason from you, " this we will do, we will truly and plainly represent unto the King " our Master, our propositions and your answers, with all the circumstances on either part, and when we have shewed how stiff you " continue in these your own ways, we will endeavour the best we " can, that this may be no bar to that part of our felicity which consists in enjoying that incomparable Lady, Madame; but with this " *Item* by the way, which, for deeper impression sake, we twice repeated, that we knew not whether, when the King our Master " should

“ should hear of this their proceedings, he might not open his ear to
 “ new councils, and embrace such offers as might come to him from
 “ other parts, and leave them perhaps to seek place for repentance when
 “ it would be too late.” And with this we, somewhat abruptly, took
 our leaves, and immediately, with the countenance of discontented persons, went to Paris, as conceiving this the best way left, to bring them unto reason; and here we expect some better resolutions from them, or a new commandment from his Majesty (if so he can content himself with verbal assurances), before we dare adventure to sign the articles. But this we are persuaded, that the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal are so passionately affected to the Match, as they will leave nothing untried to work the King to whatsoever is possible, rather than the business should thus miscarry in the very haven.

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To their care likewise, we ascribe the quick dispatch of the Pere Hyacynth, who returned towards Baviere some three or four days since, very badly edified in the business he came about. The Secretary des Embassadeurs, who conducted him to his coach, took his farewell of him by this pretty compliment, “ Je prie dieu (mon Pere), qu’il vous
 “ conduise bien en votre pays, et que je ne vous voye jamais plus si
 “ ce n’est en paradis, dont il nous fasse jour tous deux; mais que
 “ ce soit le plus tost pour vous, et le plus tard pour moy, que faire se
 “ pourra.”

But though he and his companion be gone, yet there are two besides, that will (howsoever without that vigor of holiness) carefully act their part, viz. the two agents of the Emperor and the Duke of Baviere. The former whereof sought audience, the very day following our last conference, but with liberty to be covered before the King, as a thing due to the greatness of his Master; who therefore had his paquet accordingly, that unless he would come with cap in hand, he might keep himself fairly where he was.



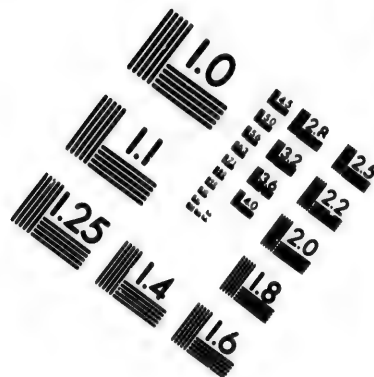
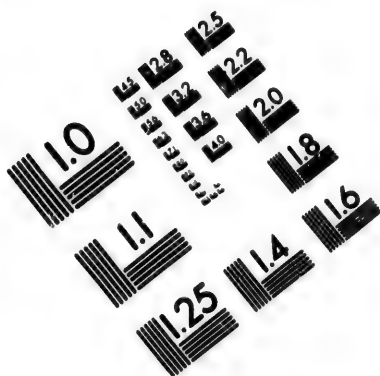
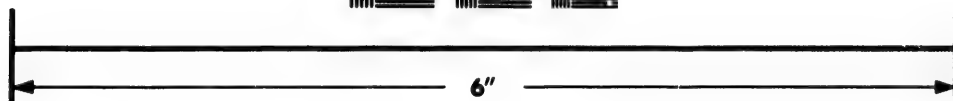
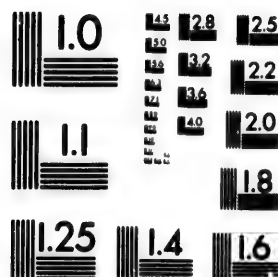


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JAMES I.
1624.*From Mr. Lorkin to the Lords Carlisle and Holland.*

October 11th, 1624.

Octob. 11th.

Right Honourable and my most singular good Lords,

THOUGH I can hardly command my eyes to direct my hand (so ready are they to close, upon every line that drops from my pen), yet have I forced this obedience from them to give your Lordships a brief account of my journey hither, my safe arrival here, and the index I find of the crisis of the business.

Upon Saturday, in the evening, I arrived at Boulogne in good hour (as your Lordships will have understood from Mr. Carre), and would, the same night, have continued my journey to the gates of Calais, but that the wind turning fair invited me to embark there; which, after some five or six hours refreshing myself, in expectation of the tide, I did, and put forth to sea, where we had not advanced above two leagues, but, we were so becalmed, for nine or ten hours together, as there was no moving one way nor other. Against heaven it was a folly to be impatient, and yet I was almost so foolish. At length, by signs and becks to a fishing-boat, which we descried a great way off, I found means to put myself ashore, and so took post to Calais, where finding the weather calm, and that little wind (that was stirring) turned quite contrary, I had no means to pass unless I ventured myself to a shallop, which I did at sun-set on Sunday evening, and arrived at Dover, half-starved with cold, on Monday morning betwixt four and five of the clock, and entered into London just as the clock struck three. Here I understood that his Majesty was gone to Royston, but that his Highness, my Lord Duke, and Mr. Secretary Conway were, or would be, all here the same evening. By four I waited upon Mr. Secretary, from whom one of the first questions was, Whether he expressed himself unto your Lordships clearly enough, yea or not? I was loth to make my mouth the first witness of his obscurity,

rity, and therefore declining the direct answer, restrained myself to his last letter, and told him, that it put your Lordships to some stand, to see his Majesty come fully home to the French King's demands for the Match, and yet restrain the signing of the articles to a condition, of first procuring others for the league, or at least an act in writing. Whereunto he presently replied, that he then obeyed his Majesty's commandment, who had no intention that one should be done without the other, and both his Majesty and his Highness, and my Lord Duke, had had the perusal over those letters more than once. And added, that your Lordships had already favoured that King beyond your commission, which enjoined you first to treat of the league and then of the alliance, or at least to make things go hand in hand together. But resumed again his first question, Whether his dispatches were at any time intricate? Whereunto, finding myself pressed either to speak truth, or lie, I thus helped to disguise the former to him; that sometimes he so cautiously and prudently involved his meaning, in a close and covered stile, as forced your Lordships to assemble your wits together to pick it out. By his truth he swore there was no such prudent consideration in it, but if there were any darkness, it was unwitting, and contrary to his desire, which was to give the perfect light, and that he reserved copies of all, which I should see, that I might instance in some particulars, that so he might know the better how to mend the fault hereafter. This struck me dumb, and gave him leisure to read over the dispatch; wherein he often interrupted himself by suddenly uttering forth these words, "Before God, I fear all is spoiled, and that we shall suddenly break upon this difference." I desired his Honour to have the patience to finish it, which he did, not without some other such-like repetitions; and in the end of all, confirmed to me his aforesaid fears, that we were like to come to a sudden rupture; and that, within this month, Gondemar would be here with new offers, powerful enough, in the Spanish party's conceit, to prevail. Here I delivered him

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him your Lordship's letters of credence, which prepared his ear to listen to the relation of the offers, which, by Mr. Gourden's means, without nominating the person, were conveyed to you; and these I commended by all those motives and reasons which your Lordships furnished me with, or my own understanding could suggest to me. But the same voices of despair sounded still unto me, that all this would not serve the turn, nor deliver his Majesty from just apprehensions, that this Match so offered (not only with a simple refusal of a league, but a flying back from their own word and promise) was rather out of a design to ruin him, than to strengthen him; and that it was an ordinary practice amongst many great Princes, to think their daughters or sisters well bestowed, if they might thereby be able to compass their own ends. He here asked me, whether I had letters for his Highness and my Lord Duke? I answered yes. He further enquired of me, whether I brought not a double of this dispatch to them? but yet I had brought the foul copy with me, because if the King and Prince should be at different places, your Lordships were desirous I should make lecture thereof to his Highness likewise; the rather, that if any occasion of question might arise upon any particular, I might be able to resolve it. He thereupon replied, that he would go presently and perform that himself, and would call upon the Duke, that, if his Grace thought fit, he would make the lecture to both together, and that I might be present to deliver to either my letters likewise. I feared to offend, if I had, by any different motion gone cross to this demand, and therefore I obeyed, and had the honour to go along with him in his own coach. But the dispatch was first read to them in private; and I only admitted afterwards to deliver my letters, which was after long attendance, to me especially, that had not tasted one morsel of meat since I came from Bologne, These being delivered, I returned to scribble this account, and intend to-morrow, to see whether I may have access to acquit myself more particularly of your Lordships commands to both; and strive (as in this)

this, so on all other occasion, to let your Honours see, that I have JAMES I.
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no greater ambition than to be approved

Your Lordships, &c. &c.

From the Same to the Same.

O^c. 21st, 1624.

Right Honourable and my most singular good Lords,

MY former letter contains a true relation of all that passed between Mr. Secretary Conway and me; I reserved that which followed upon my admittance into the Prince and Duke, for another letter a-part, that if your Lordships thought fit to shew the other to any, they might therein read no other characters but those of despair. Being therefore admitted into their presence, his Highness commanded me to deliver what your Lordships had been pleased to commend to me in trust, which I did so fully and effectually, as the Duke interrupting me, told the Prince, that this was much better than that which Fiatt had told him, and his Highness confirmed it by an affirmative. After I had ended all, I added, that if his Majesty pleased to condescend to those conditions (in case he should find an impossibility of getting better), your Lordships would be then so much the bolder, to press all things home to their utmost extremity, as having a present remedy at hand to solder up that breach which eagerness of dispute might otherwise occasion. His Highness and my Lord Duke (both) applauded the course, if so be his Majesty should like of it; and agreed (on Wednesday) to go expressly to Roiston, to communicate these things with them, and to know his pleasure therein. I have craved leave to interpose this caution, that, if his Majesty consented to the motion, yet that a quite contrary countenance might be put on, and the Marquis de Fiatt

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carefully entertained in despair, because otherwise your Lordships' endeavours would be quite frustrate: and besides, it would have a far better grace, that the sweetness of the conclusion might flow directly from his Majesty, by his own instruments (your Lordships) than by a stranger, who, perhaps, might draw the greatest honour and thanks thereof unto himself, as having extorted it by the industry of his own wit. This his Highness and my Lord Duke presently assented to, and promised me carefully and punctually to observe, but with *an if still*, if it might once be brought to the point.

I cannot deduce things more particularly; for the messenger parts early in the morning, and I am now too much oppressed with sleep.

Copy of the Secret Escrit presented by the French Ambassadors, and avowed to be the same agreed on between them and his Majesty's Ambassadors in France.

18th November, 1624.

Nov. 18.

LE Roy de la Grande Bretagne donnera au Roy un escrit particulier signé de luy, du Serenissime Prince son fils, & d'un Secretaire d'Estat; par lequel il promettra, en foy & parole de Roy, Qu'en contemplation de son tres cher fils, & de Madame Sœur du Roy tres Chrestien, qu'il permettra à tous ses subjects Catholiques Romains de jouir de plus de liberté & franchise, en ce qui regarde leur religion, qu'il n'eussent fait en vertu d'articles quelconques accordés par le traité de mariage fait avec l'Espagne: ne voulant, pour cet effect, que ses subjects Catholiques puissent estre inquiétés en leurs personnes & biens pour faire profession de la dite religion & vivre en Catholiques, pourveu toutesfois qu'ils en usent modestement,

ment, & rendent l'obeissance que de bons & vray subjects doivent à leur Roy, qui par sa bonté ne les restreindra pas à aucun serment contraire à leur religion. JAMES I.
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Ce que dessus a été accordé par Messieurs les Ambassadeurs du Roy de la Grande Bretagne ce 18 Novembre 1624, à Paris.

Ainsi signé

CARLILE,
HOLLAND.

Collat. par moi,

DE LOMENIE.

From Secretary Conway to Lords Carlisle and Holland.

Right Honourable,

London, 23d Dec. 1624.

I MUST now acknowledge the receipt of two of your letters, Dec. 23: the one of the 5th, the other of the 17th of December. I see now, that, before I received your Lordships of the 5th, you had received mine in answer to those brought by the noble gentleman Sir James Auchterlony.

On the 12th of this present at Cambridge, the ratification of the treaty, agreed on and signed by your Lordships, was signed by his Majesty; and, at the same time, the *escriit secret*, and the confirmation of the 9th article, were likewise executed and signed by his Majesty and the Prince severally. The ratification of the treaty is since exemplified under the Great Seal. And, in the demands concerning the Roman Catholics, the French Ambassadors have received full satisfaction; only some legal formalities are to be done, which Monsieur de Ville aux Clercs desires to see before he goes, and for that puts off his journey till Monday. The greatest difficulty hath been concerning the passage of Mansfelt's troops, and the restraint given by his Majesty to Count Mansfelt, not to attempt any act of hostility

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upon any the lawful dominions or possessions of the King of Spain or the Archduchess. The Ambassadors here have used the same arguments at Cambridge, we now receive from you. Whereupon his Majesty was pleased to make a declaration, grounded upon the words of the Ambassadors, in which, after some former declaration, his Majesty concluded with the qualifying of his restraint; indeed taking it away, by permitting them to second their companions, or secure themselves, if they were assaulted, and so make their way by arms, if passage be denied them. The copies of these things were prepared to be sent to you, but being not accepted by Monf. de Ville aux Clercs, till they shall be otherwise altered, I forbear that, till they be agreed on; and I have held up this account, from the 13th to this day, in expectation to have had leave consented to, for a few days return for you the most noble Earl of Carlisle. But until yesterday, I had no certain resolution, and then I received signification of his Majesty's pleasure, that, the dispensation being accorded according to the information of Monf. de Ville aux Clercs, who expressly went to court for that purpose, my Lord Duke's journey would be so sudden, and the time every way so short, as that his Majesty could not permit your return, for which I am sorry, being deferred from the hope of kissing your hands; a great honour and contentment taken from me.

Every messenger that comes from Dover will tell you, that the troops march to the rendezvous daily. The rest of the circumstances belonging to this, and whatever else my affection and my duties might think proper to deliver to you, as well as the magnificent feast the Duke gave yesternight to the Ambassadors, defer to the next opportunity; to which yet I must not leave this commandment of his Majesty's, to signify his pleasure to your Lordships, that you put yourselves out of your defraying at the charge of that King; nor can I conclude this without the acknowledgment of my infinite obligations

obligations to your Lordships favours, and the presentation of my JAMES I.
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duties and service, in which I remain

Your Lordships, &c.

From Lords Carlisle and Holland to Secretary Conway.

Right Honourable,

WE have forbore to trouble you with the several bruits which have run here of the commotions of those of the religion, till we should see what certain form they would take, yet we have not been wanting upon every occasion to entreat this King, the Queen-mother, and the Ministers, not to give too easy credit thereto to the prejudice of the good resolutions now in hand. But we do now understand, from certain assurance, that Monsieur De Soubize, with some companies of those of the religion, hath seized upon the Island of Rhé, near Rochelle, hath left 500 men there with arms, to fortify and defend it, and is himself gone with five ships on some expedition, which is not yet discovered. We are extremely sorry that we must believe that Monsieur De Soubize hath so unadvisedly and unseasonably engaged himself in this desperate action; but we are assured, that the body of those of the religion do not participate therein; but that it is only some private discontented gentlemen, who, pretending a desire and necessity to procure a better observation of the public faith, and the edicts (which they generally complain are too often violated), have animated Monsieur De Soubize to undertake the reformation, hoping withal to repair their own necessitous fortunes thereby. The last night, having attended the King at a comedie, upon the rising of the company, he came unto us of himself, and in a free and chearful manner entreated us to assure the King our master from him, that these insolences of those
of

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of the religion should alter nothing in the resolutions he had taken for the public good, nor in the particular promises he had made unto his Majesty. Whereupon we rendered unto him special thanks, for so frank a declaration of the constancy of his good affections; and we besought him, that though some indiscreet gentleman had incurred his displeasure, yet that he would still be pleased, for the interest of the commonweal of Christendom, to temper his chastisement with clemency, and not drive the body of those of the religion, by a rigorous proceeding, to the extremity of a general despair; which he promised to do. We have this day, upon this occasion, spoken with the ministers of the State, who have confirmed the same assurance which we received from this King; and more particularly, by the mouth of the Cardinal de Richlieu, they did inform us, that it was true they had taken orders for the present arming of the ships for the recovery of the Island of Rhé, as also for the raising of three little armies, whereof one, consisting of 6000 foot and 400 horse, should remain in Poictou, and those parts about Rochelle; another of 8000 foot and 500 horse, should be raised in Languedoc; and a third of 6000 and 400 horse, about the confines of Champagne; the two first to repress any further tumults or combinations in those provinces, the latter to make head against any incursions of Calalto's or Tilly's troops, if they should attempt it. Yet that, nevertheless, they had newly, by an express courier, renewed the order to the Constable for the hastening of his passage over the mountains; and that they had more money ready for Mansfelt than they had promised; and renewed their former instance, and advise, that Mansfelt should make his passage by the way of Berghen, and not by France; in respect of the hazard he should run of endangering the main enterprize, encountering, at his very entrance, a puissant army of Calalto's and Tilly's troops, with the forces of the country, which they say were joined upon the confines to withstand his proceedings. We opposed to this reason the strength of Mansfelt's army,

army, the known courage and abilities of the General, and especially the impossibility of transporting their 2000 horse by sea. Whereunto they made answer, that they had understood from Mansfelt, that he would have taken order for it. We are assured by the Ambassador of Savoy, that he is not only ready, in his Master's name, to give assurance for the payment of his portion of money for the entertainment of Mansfelt's troops; but that the Venetian Ambassador hath also newly received order from that Seignory to give satisfaction for their proportion; so, as they pretend, there now remaineth no other difficulty but the resolution of the passage. We promised the Ministers to make a true narration of their allegations; which we have faithfully done; but as, at our conference, we held them strictly to the first agreement for the passage by France; so we have altered nothing in that behalf, for the reasons particularly alledged in our former letters; and for that we suppose, this new desire of theirs here proceedeth rather from the interest of their own affairs, than from any new extraordinary affection to the business; conceiving that the resolution will be best guided by his Majesty's incomparable wisdom, with the opinion of the General.

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From Lord Carlisle to the Duke of Buckingham.

My most noble dear Lord,

Paris, 16th Feb. 1624-5.

IN the care and study which I have to maintain that friendship inviolable, which I have professed to your Lordship, I cannot observe a more safe and faithful rule than to follow your Lordship's both precept and example, in using a cordial and sincere liberty, which is the cement and soul of true friendship. I will, therefore, my most dear Lord, presume, by my own hand, to communicate

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municate my heart to your Lordship, and to your Lordship only, by remonstrating unto you, that this unworthy people, neglecting the honour and respect which they owe to the greatness of our gracious Master, the obligation which they have to his Highness's transcendent merit, quality, and affection, and the gratitude which belongeth to your Lordship's noble favours, are grown so indiscreetly and unreasonably presumptuous, as to impose a new treaty upon us, after a perfect treaty concluded, signed, and sworn by his Majesty, wherein, by the Pope's borrowed name, they would exact not only all the dishonourable and prejudicial circumstances which, with much labour and contestation, we had avoided or rejected in the whole course of our former conferences and treatings; but would inforce no less than a direct and public toleration, not by connivance, promise, or *escriit secret*, but by a public notification to all the Roman Catholics, and that of all his Majesty's kingdoms whatsoever, confirmed by his Majesty and the Prince his oath, and attested by a public act, whereof a copy to be delivered to the Pope or his Minister, and the same to bind his Majesty and the Prince's successors for ever. This holdeth proportion, I must confess, with the whole course of their former proceedings. For first, in the point of assistance, which we required for the restoring of his Majesty's children to their ancient patrimony and dignities, they would not enter into any formal association, but undertake that this King should give us a promise, which should become equivalent thereunto by their real performance; but when, upon the signing of the treaty of marriage, we came to receive it, we found them to be so imperfect, as for the saving of his Majesty's honour, we rather chose to have none; and now, when it cometh to the performance, we understand they are fallen short, by the one half, of the assistance of cavalry promised to the Count Mansfelt; and it is notorious to all the world, how flatly and falsely they are fallen from the public faith, which they had given for the descent of Mansfelt's troops in France, and the passage to be made from

from hence, after they had discovered the advantage which we had gained upon them in that point. JAMES I.
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Touching the treaty of marriage, after his Majesty had admitted of their full demand of the temporal articles, they insisted that, after the example of the treaty with Spain, something must be granted in favour of our Catholics, for the facilitating of the dispensation, which they then pretended should only be shewed to the Pope, and afterwards withdrawn, and whereof the execution should still remain in our power, and that they required it only for form sake and their own justification; which, when we had agreed with the Marquis de la Vieuxville, should pass only by way of letter from his Majesty to this King, Vieuxville was disgraced, and disavowed; and when afterwards the *escriit secret* was admitted, and framed upon the expence of much time and consultation both here and in England, the infamous word Liberty, was, by the false suggestions and artifice of Villeaux Clercs foisted in (which I beseech your Lordship we may have commandment to cause to be altered, as a thing which was surreptitiously gotten without our thought or consent), and now last of all, by pretence of the Pope's authority, they would impose upon us real alterations, and new additions, extravagant in themselves, and incompatible with his Majesty's honour, and the peace of his kingdom. Do but remember, my most noble dear Lord, how much your noble and generous proceedings in Spain did endear you to the loves and hearts of his Majesty's people, all which you will lose (I beseech your Lordship to pardon my liberty, proceeding from a fast and sincere friendship) if you give way in this; the world will now conclude it was nothing but a particular passion, and animosity, and not care of the public, which excited you thereunto. Nothing can more justify and advantage Digby, than the admission of the last of these new conditions, which carry with them more prejudice and dishonour than the conditions of the Spanish Treaty, which might seem, out of neces-

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fity, to be extorted, the Prince's precious person being in their hands; but now there being no such necessity, the envy will be wholly cast upon the negociators. I beseech your Lordship to give your humble faithful servant, who hath made a league offensive and defensive with your friendship, leave to assure you, that you will find little faith or fast friendship in any but the true British hearts; much less in these inconstant and perfidious monsters, who will make little scruple to ruin their best friends, so as they may not fail to compass their ends. Shall I give your Lordship a demonstration thereof? But I must first conjure your Lordship, by all that is holy and inviolable, to keep it most secret; for I have it from a dear friend, who was the first person in the whole world acquainted with it, whom I had rather lose my life than ruin, and that cannot be avoided if this secret be discovered. I have only imparted it to my dear colleague, from whom I conceal nothing; and now am going to tell your Lordship, that upon the late news which was brought hither of the death of the King of Spain, there was a project framed, that Madame, for whom we have been so long in suit, should be given in marriage to Don Carlos (they having offended the State of Spain, not daring to strike, and unwilling enough to reassure them), and that they would endeavour to content his Highness with the Queen of Spain, as being their daughter, and somewhat more suitable to his years. But I fear to abuse your Lordship's patience too much. The conclusion of all is this, that, by a round sharp negative, you will shew your resentment of the indignity which is offered, by these new extravagant demands, to his Majesty, and the sweet Prince's honour, to the honour of England, and to your Lordship's favour and friendship; whose honour and fortune they would make little difficulty to sacrifice to the obtaining of their own ends and desires. But, my dear Lord, you must then reject the whole, else you will suffer their presumption to encroach too far upon the honour
of

of our great Master, and will give more courage to their insatiable appetite, and this, I dare maintain, is not the way to break, but to facilitate and secure the marriage; the present constitution of their affairs, both at home and abroad, being such, as they will not care to offend his Majesty, if they should discover his resolution. Quarrel with the Marquis D'Effiat; not with his person, for that is worthy of all favour and esteem; but quarrel with his charge, with his commission, and with his Ministers arts; who when they find 'tis inflexible, set him a-work. If any thing be granted him, that they stop our mouths withal; if he promise any thing, that they disavow, as having no commission to treat; whereof we have found the experience three or four times. In other passages, heretofore, I have had much patience for your Lordship's sake; but now that I find, that, without any sense either of honour or gratitude, they care not how they wound their best friends, I can endure it no longer, for your Lordship shall ever find, that *contra gentes*, I am ever constant

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Your Grace's, &c. &c.

From Mr. Thomas Lorkin to the Lords Carlisle, &c.

London, February 12th, 1624-5.

Right Honourable and my singular good Lords,

I HAD dispatched away this account, two or three days sooner, but that I was partly in expectation of some further order from Court; and partly in hope of preventing the speed of any other by mine own diligence. But as the former is like to be frustrate, by the order La Riviere pretends to have received of delivering his Majesty's letters to the French King himself, which, together with the copy

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inclosed,

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inclosed, being put into my hands by Mr. Secretary Conway late last night, comes now demanded by him this morning in Mr. Secretary's name, though I refuse to give it, till I receive an expresse commandment from his Honour's own mouth; so in the latter I find myself deceived by being cast into such an intricate labyrinth about your Lordship's supply, as I can see no sudden issue out. For though his Majesty hath, upon my Lord of Buckingham's recommendation, carefully solicited by Mr. Secretary, been pleased to grant a warrant for 12000 *l.* which the Lord Treasurer seconded by another to the Attorney; and he made his draught for the Signet and Privy Seal; yet this stops a little at the King's signature; and I find, besides, the Exchequer so empty, and the difficulties of getting money so great, as (notwithstanding all the fair language my Lord Treasurer gives me, and that cordial I think, and such as deserves your Lordship's thankful acknowledgments) I fear somewhat the expedition. Yet, to redeem by Providence as much time as may be, I am busy in the *interim* with the merchants to stipulate for the return, which requires a new care; since (as the exchange goeth), and especially for the quick remitting so great a sum, I apprehend much loss.

This being promised by way of excuse, I leave your Lordship's particular, and come unto the public. Wherein, first, for Mansfeld's business, you may please to understand, how his Majesty was content with a very short account, because it was fully determined before I came; so that all that remains for your Lordship to do in this point is, as far as I can learn from his Grace, to press, what is possible, the hastening away of the cavalry to join with the infantry; since, till it be, how well soever the family shall be composed and their dispensation cleared, which will be your Lordship's second task, the noble Duke intends not to stir from hence.

For the word Liberty (in the *Escrit particulier*), his Majesty is pleased to leave that to your Lordship's discretion, and will think it a
good

good piece of service, if you can obtain that it be razed out. Yet would not, by any means, that it should be pressed, to cause any ill blood, or bad correspondence betwixt the two Crowns; for that were to destroy one part of his design, which aims, not only at the marriage, but an amity. And this will do well to be cherished by a friendly closure of the business, so to sweeten a little any harshness that may have passed in the precedent negotiation. And to this resolution his Majesty is rather swayed, by the judgment he makes of the value of the word, which being merely relative to what was meant in contemplation of the treaty with Spain, carries with it a great deal more show than substance. It is, in effect, the charge I received from his Majesty's own mouth to derive unto your Lordships. And to speak truth, much cannot be expected from any thing that is concluded in that relative form, since your Lordships can remember, that the Commissioners pleaded for it by this argument, that they knew not how little they obtained thereby, the bounds being locked up in his Majesty's own breast, and desired it rather as a colour to content the Pope, than for any great tie they thereby pretended to fasten upon the King.

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The speedy accomplishment of Monsieur D'Effiatt's business will give great contentment, and is especially recommended by his Grace to your Lordship's care. I think there cannot be a more powerful argument to enforce it, than from that transcendent expression of kindness which his Majesty's letter imports, to persuade to a reciprocal demonstration of affection; and that, as in other more essential points, so in this, of sending the ribbon to his Majesty, that he may gratify the Ambassador therewith.

There yet remains one commission, which I am to deliver from my Lord Duke, to both your Lordships jointly; and that is, in his name to desire you to quicken (as far as cleanly and handsomely you may) the performance of a purpose, which he is informed, that King (and

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either Queen-Mother or the Cardinal) hath, of presenting his Grace with pictures, which will be much more welcome if they come before his journey, than if they follow after.

I shall add only this for news, that Sir Albertus Morton is now sworn Secretary; that the Cardinal denies (in a letter to Monsieur D'Effiatt) what your Lordships advertised about the consultation and resolution, touching the Prince's reception (in case his Highness should pass over into France), and desires to know the author of that imposture; that is his term. What further passed betwixt the Ambassador and me upon this subject, I shall reserve till I have the honour to attend your Lordships, when I shall acquit myself of a great many other particular commands to either. In the *interim*, I most humbly beseech your Lordships to confirm me still in your favourable good opinion, and to honour me with the quality, whereby I pretend to value myself most, of being

Your Lordships, &c. &c.

P. S. I had almost forgot, to let your Lordships know, how infinitely satisfied his Majesty and Highness were with Madame's kind reception of the present, and the demonstrations of her affection upon that occasion. I come now from Mr. Secretary, with whom, pleading against the delivery of the letter to La Riviere, he silenced me by shewing me a commandment under the Duke's own hand, won thereto (as it is like) by the suit of the Ambassador, that thereby he might the better facilitate his own affair. From Denmark there came news yesternight as good as his Majesty's own heart can wish, the particulars I cannot learn. I may not omit one thing which both my Lord Duke and Mr. Secretary seriously recommended, that in any future negotiations with the Ministers, your Lordships trust not to words only, but procure it under their hands in writing.

JAMES I.

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From Secretary Conway to Lord Carlisle.

Right Honourable,

Chesterford, Feb. 24th, 1624.

I PUT your Lordships dispatch of the 19th of this instant into his Majesty's hands this day, which he graciously read, and then commanded me to give your Lordship for answer, that, by a dispatch made yesterday to you, which will be with you before this can come to your hands, your Lordships will see the resolution his Majesty hath taken, following your wise advices, and the reason of the cause as it was laid before him. And that very dispatch itself will likewise be with you almost as soon as this; it being held up for the cause, and short time in that dispatch expressed; so as his Majesty cannot see how he may grant the propositions you make for the Lord Carlisle's leave of coming hither, without giving a great delay to the great business in hand, and offering subject of much jealousy to that King and his Ministers; the rather for the shadows taken at you the Lord Carlisle's person already. Neither doth his Majesty think it seasonable, in this conjuncture of affairs, to seem to surprize or affright them: nor can his Majesty see how this coming away of you my Lord Carlisle can be suitable with the stile practised by Ambassadors in the ancient and modern times (except in like case as my Lord Holland's coming by consent of that King, and for the use and advantage of that King's service from whom he came). But if the advantage lie only for the service of his Majesty, his Majesty conceives that you Lord Carlisle are not unfurnished with Gentlemen of worth to whom you may trust the relations of things of great consequence. And if the secrets might be such as a knowledge of a third from you two, could not be chosen to bring it to his Majesty, your Lordships might at least by that confident person write that greatest secret. And now

all

JAMES I.
1624-5.

all this is laid before your Lordships, his Majesty, not to deny to your wisdoms, nor to the trust, experience, and approved faithfulness and judgment, he hath ever found in you, and particularly in my Lord of Carlisle, the latitude which is fit for a King to leave to his trusty Ambassadors, his Majesty is graciously pleased that you the Earl of Carlisle may come according to your desire, if upon this debate with you by this present dispatch, you the Earl of Carlisle shall be pleased to find it good, for the service of his Majesty, and advancement of the business, to come; provided you make that King acquainted with it, and that he give a consent to it as for his service, at least that it give him no offence, and that you warrant yourself by the causes known to you, through all these difficulties which appear to his Majesty. Notwithstanding all which he will not prejudge of you, but that you may know something, that may justly move and authorize your desire to come, and your coming. But for the propositions of Denmark, come to you by way of Sir Robert Anstruther; notwithstanding some things to that point already sent you, his Majesty hath commanded me to advertise your Lordships, that the King of Denmark was not come so far as a declaration, by the industry and solicitations of the Marquis of Brandenburg; but that since, in contemplation of his Majesty, he hath come to the propositions herewith sent you, upon which his Majesty (upon good grounds) hath made dispatch to the King of Denmark, agreeing to the King of Denmark's propositions, and hath turned the negotiation of Sir Robert Anstruther, and Sir James Spens, his Majesty's Ministers in those parts, to accommodate all jealousies between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and form the army under the conduct of the King of Denmark, or to lose no aid to desire from them their several assistances by several ways, upon knowledge given, and direction from his Majesty, which way they shall take.

His Majesty likes well the hope that is given of the places that will be taken in Milan within six days. But (I conceive) will
be

be better pleased when he shall hear that they took them six days ago. JAMES I.
1624-5.

I must observe my duty to make this a sudden dispatch; and I shall speed it the better to let your Lordships know, that his Majesty hears you willingly, esteems you much, and trusts you accordingly; and like a great King to worthy Ministers, is unwilling to refuse you any thing. When your Lordship stands thus with the greatest King, and my blessed Master, what can I offer you, but praises and prayers for you, and the affection, faith, and duty of

Your Lordship's, &c. &c.

The Duke of Buckingham to Lord Carlisle.

My Lord,

Theobalds, March 15th, 1624.

I GIVE your Lordship many thanks for your letter, and for the advertisements you give me therein, whereof I shall not be sparing to make good use. And in the mean time, I desire your Lordship still to have your eyes open, and to stop any course, as much as you can, which may hinder the business of the Palatinate, and affairs of Germany, and of the religion, until I come; for which I cannot yet appoint a day, till I hear from your Lordship, that all is done touching the settling of Madame's house; and then I desire you to send away Sir George Goring with all speed; upon whose coming, I will resolve on the time of taking my journey, and I purpose to come with such store of materials and propositions, as shall make them willing to hearken to me. In the mean time I rest

Your Lordship's, &c. &c.

JAMES I.
1624-5.

From Secretary Conway to the Same.

Right Honourable,

Theobalds, March 16th, 1624.

IN all things you are pleased to honour me more than I am worthy; and in your last dispatch, you vouchsafe to lay a fault upon haste, that you do not account the passage of several directions you have received from his Majesty. And yet in the same you fulfil all that could be advised from hence, or hoped for there. And although it be not imagined, that you have been put to the trial of your uttermost powers; yet it is attributed to the strength of your noble virtues, that none other could have done so much. And indeed the praise of your Lordship, the joy in the thing, and the surprise, in time and manner, had been inexpressible, but that all human things have something of earth and defect. So this coming in the time of my gracious Master's sickness, was subject to that alloy of a careful accident, without abatement in itself, or any of the circumstances.

It seems your Lordship did purpose to have sent the original, which you require to have returned to you by the Duke's Grace; but you changed your council and sent but a copy; which I remember to your Lordships for my discharge, when the Duke shall come, the copy you sent, by faith, being as effectual as if you had sent the original. And I must not conceal from your Lordships the cheerfulness that shewed itself through the double sadness of every face, first for the little hope they had for so entire a good success, and then for the extreme grief that every one suffered for the sharp and smart accesses of his Majesty's fever, though a pure intermitting tertian, whereof this day early he had his seventh fit; but, thanks be to God, less in-temperate than the rest, and hath left more clearness and cheerfulness in his looks than the former; and I know I shall join with your Lordships

ships in this prayer, that God, of his goodness to his Majesty, and mercy to us and the rest of his subjects, would restore him to his perfect health. JAMES I.
1624-5.

Your Lordships cannot but believe that, in the access his Majesty was in when your letters came, he could not express what he would have done, if his state of health had answered his affections; but he left not undeclared his contentment in the act you procured from that King, and his satisfaction in such servants, as did not only happily do the thing, but did wisely foresee and foretel the way to do it, for which the praise and thanks is yours.

Give me leave to tell your Lordships, the excellent Prince, and the gracious Duke, could not hide their contentment in your Lordships, and in your works; and their own letters will tell you the rest, from so certain knowledge, and with so much a better grace, as I would not detain you by any thing of mine from that content.

Here is now no speech, but of the speed of the Duke going, which I shall join with your Lordships in hastening of, for the reasons I have from you.

By this dispatch I send to my noble friend, Sir George Goring, from whom I received the demands, the *reglement* of the most excellent Princess, her household; and because I know how communicable all things are between you, I will not importune your Lordships with repetitions; nor will I give leave to the extremity of my assertion to your service, to breathe itself out in the large expressions it longs to manifest itself by, but, with due respect to your patience and greater affairs, conclude this, with this perfect truth, that I am

Your Lordships, &c. &c.

JAMES I.

1624-5-

From the Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

Theobalds, March 24th, 1624.

YOUR Lordship will easily judge the perplexity the Prince, the principal persons of this Court, and the affairs are in, when you shall understand the state of his Majesty's health, of which my particular letter to that purpose, will give your Lordships an account.

This is, by the commandment of the Prince his Highness, according to the mind of his Majesty, to signify his pleasure to you, that your Lordships let that King and his Ministers know, that it cannot be suitable with the good nature of a son, in so dangerous a state of his father's health, to entertain such jollity and triumph, as duly belong to so acceptable a marriage; nor can it be congruous with the thankfulness, and faithful love of the Duke of Buckingham, to leave his Majesty in such a condition as he now is. Your Lordships must therefore be pleased to acquaint that King and his Ministers with the sad state of his Majesty's health, and withal that, amongst the continual thoughts, that his Highness hath of that excellent Lady and that happy Match, he is not without an examination of that King's promise, and the exact terms in it. And although his Highness makes interpretation, that if, upon such an extraordinary occasion as this is, his proxy and powers should not come thither by the precise time of the 31st day after the signature of that King's promise, that King would, upon the possible convenient coming of his powers, pass, according to the conditions, to the solemnization of the marriage; yet, in a case which his Highness pursues with such passion, he would not suffer any point of omission to be on his part. And therefore, he prays and requires your Lordships to procure from that King, a categorical answer, how he understands and means to stand upon that

that limitation of time of thirty-one days, and whether he intends any reasonable time after the thirty-one days. For if that King shall bind his Highness precisely to the 31st day, his Highness will resolve to entreat the Duke de Chevreuse, to perform the office for him, and send him his powers. So that the points your Lordships must clear are, to explain the thirty-one days, whether intended precisely, or as not to be sooner, but at any convenient time after; and where it is said (when the Duke of Buckingham or some other shall be sent from the King, and bring power from the Prince) whether, in this necessity, it will not be as acceptable, or at least admitted, that a Duke there be intreated on the part of the Prince. For your Lordships may be pleased to be assured, that if God, according to our hope and prayers, shall restore our gracious Master to his health, the Duke will be with you with all possible speed.

JAMES I.
1624-5.

And this being the charge I have, your Lordships will see how needful it is you return a speedy answer; and I see how fit it is for me to end your trouble, with the presentation of my service to your Lordships commandments, at which I remain, in all humble affection,

Your Lordships, &c. &c.

From the Same to the Same.

Theobalds, March 24th, 1624, late at night.

Right Honourable,

THAT your Lordships may know the cause we have of silent sadness, and bear such a part in it as your noble sweet powers will contribute, I must deliver to you, that this last night was the tenth night of his Majesty's fever, which exercised much violence upon

JAMES I.
1624-5.

upon a weak body, which being revered and loved with so much cause as his Majesty hath given, struck much sense and fear into the hearts of his servants that looked upon him. Yet, to deliver to you the state clearly, this day his Majesty hath taken broths, hath had large benefit of nature, and hath slept well. And, more to your comfort, his Majesty did, with life and chearfulness, receive the sacrament in the presence of the Prince, the Duke, and many others, and admitted many to take it with him; and in the action and the circumstances of it, did deliver himself so answerable to his writings and his wife and pious professions, and did justly produce mixt tears between comfort and grief; and this day, and now this night, he recovers temper, rests, in appearance to us, strength, appetite, and digestion; which gives us great hope of his amendment, grounded not only upon desire, but upon the method of judicious observation.

To your ears and affection I know this discourse is passionately acceptable, but to your hearts and tender love wounds and grief; and therefore I will enlarge this part of the story no further; but will tell your Lordships that Mr. Lorkin is staid a little by the Duke of Buckingham to assist in the preparation of the Prince's powers, that he may bring them unto you as clear as is possible, and upon any thing that hath been debated here, may furnish your Lordships with the arguments, if the things be drawn so far, or that your wisdoms may think fit to make use of them. This letter I had intended for your Lordships before I had order for that of the same date which comes with it. When God shall set open the windows of his mercy unto us, by restoring to our blessed Master his perfect health, I will then, with more chearfulness, and all speed, give you that access of joy, and withal continue the acknowledgment of my obligations, the offer of my humble service, and the same suit I make now to be valued

Your Lordships, &c. &c.

From the Same to the Same.

Right Honourable,

Whitehall, April 12th, 1625.

THE proxies being ready to go under seal, and the rest of the Peers agreed, and upon the point of dispatch, and his Majesty's letters written to come towards you some time to-morrow by Mr. Coburne, servant of his Majesty's, I receive order to dispatch this express to your Lordships, with advertisement to you that his Majesty hath understood, that an Ambassador of quality is intended to be sent hither from that King, which is a work of more solemnity and cost to both sides than well befits this conjuncture, and the strong alliance and friendship betwixt the two Kings, which challengeth rather familiarity; and mutual care of each other's cost and convenience. And that there is not any thing which an Ambassador can perform, which may not be better done by the Marquis D'Effiatt. And therefore his Majesty hath commanded me to signify his pleasure unto your Lordships to do your best endeavours to stop his coming, which his Majesty will take for a very acceptable office done to him.

Thanks be to God, his Majesty is in health; the Duke in physick, for health's sake. The King of Denmark hath, by much importunity, sent Sir Robert Anstruther hither, with so singular a testimony of strong affection and gallant resolution, that, without any other assurance than the words of his Majesty's Ambassadors, he hath met in person with the Lower Saxe Courts, and some other Princes, to satisfy whose fears, he hath raised, put into armies, and holds in readiness, 10,000 foot, and 4000 horse. And if his Majesty will comply with him, according to the promises given him, he purposes to be in the field by the 16th of May, with 25,000 foot, and 7000 horse. I go too far in your Lordships trouble, considering I shall to-morrow trouble

CHARLES I.
1625.

trouble you again, and for this I beg pardon now, and, with assurance of the continuance of them, even for your own virtues sake, I present you my humble service, continuing in the condition of

Your Lordships, &c. &c.

From the Same to Lord Doncaster.

Right Honourable,

Whitehall, April 28th, 1625.

HIS Majesty hath commanded me to accompany this worthy gentleman Sir Francis Netherfole (Secretary to his dear sister, and Resident for his Majesty for the affairs of Germany) with letters of direction to your Lordships to induce that King, by all the convenient ways that may be possible, to continue his aids for the recovery of the Palatinate, but with such a declaration, as may answer the spirit of the end for which those forces are employed, which is, to put his Majesty's dear brother into such authority or nomination, as, how specious soever it be, yet it may not leave him like a forgotten or unknown man in the army; which part his Majesty recommends to your judgments so to negotiate, as may turn most to the advantage of the end propounded.

His Majesty hath added one commandment more, that your Lordships solicit that King for the company of Gens D'Arms to be conferred upon the Prince Edward, one of the King of Bohemia's sons. I did mean to have put this letter into Sir Francis Netherfole's hands, to deliver to your Lordships; but desire to accommodate you, for your own particulars, hath put me off that; the relation whereof, I recommend to your trusty and diligent Mr. Lorkin; only my duty enjoins me to inform you, that upon a conference to-day at my Lord Treasurer's house, at which was present the Lord Treasurer, the

CHARLES
I.
1625.

Duke of Buckingham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and myself (assisted with Burlamachi and Van Lore), we, in fine, discovered, that there was no order come from France for the payment of one penny, which hath much disordered the business here. And your Lordships must think of causing the money to come in specie, or I see not how that article concerning the portion can be accomplished in any reasonable time, for when one day is broken, I know not what day will be kept.

Mr. Lorkin doth use miraculous diligence concerning your Lordships arrears. I hope to get assignation to Burlamachi to pay so much in Paris out of the portion; but if your Lordships can raise it thence, his Majesty is pleased to give order for the repayment of it. Even here I break off my letter, and sought out his Majesty to have a warrant signed to the Treasurer for your Lordships 4000*l.*, which I have procured, and doubt not but that Mr. Lorkin will get you the money, and follow this. And to satisfy your Lordships of every pace we go, I dispatch this to you, having written it by snatches, and having given way to many interruptions, besides two or three long ones in your Lordships service, for which cause I beseech you forgive every disjointed part of this, and vouchsafe the humble presentation of my service, which shall ever be performed to you with such faith and duty, as shall justify my assurance to stile myself

Your Lordships, &c. &c.

P. S. Francis Netherfole brings with him the copy of Count Mansfelt's commission to communicate to your Lordships.

CHARLES

I.
1625.*From the Same to Lords Carlisle and Holland.*

Right Honourable,

Whitehall, May 5th, 1625.

IT is impossible for so dull an expression as mine to set out to life, the general contentment and applause that all faces and voices made for the joyful news your Lordships gave of the happy knot tied between the most excellent persons of the King and Queen of England, and the hearty prayers formed by every man, and Amen to each other.

But when I should observe the distress his Majesty was in, to pay the sacrifice of joy to his Mistress, and duty of gravity to his kingly wisdom, I want the art to divide that hair; only I must tell you, he discovered what he sought to hide, and all learnt to increase their joy by his.

The next is to let your Lordships know, that his Majesty is well pleased that you return with the Queen, and by this doth give you leave. But because, even as I am writing this, I conceive it were fit you had a letter for that King from his Majesty, I will enquire better, and, if need be, move for it, and dispatch it to you by an express, continuing for ever according to my infinite obligations,

Your Lordships, &c. &c.

P. S. If I could be silent, I would say nothing of this gentleman, whose good affection leads him to desire this journey. And being so well known unto your Lordships as he is, and your noble courtesies being so free to all men, I shall not need to move your Lordships to take knowledge of his merit, yet wish him the happiness of your favour.

CHARLES

I.
1625.From the
Harleian
Collection.

Account of the vastly rich cloaths of the Duke of Buckingham, the number of his Servants and of the noble Personages in his train, when he went to Paris, A. D. 1625, to bring over Queen Henrietta Maria.

[This is a singular specimen of the luxurious magnificence of that great favourite.]

My Lord Duke is intended to take his journey towards Paris, on Wednesday the 31st of March.

HIS Grace hath for his body, twenty-seven rich suits embroidered. and laced with silk and silver plushes; besides one rich white satin uncut velvet suit, set all over, both suit and cloak, with diamonds, the value whereof is thought to be worth fourscore thousand pounds, besides a feather made with great diamonds; with sword, girdle, hatband and spurs with diamonds, which suit his Grace intends to enter into Paris with. Another rich suit is of purple satin, embroidered all over with rich orient pearls; the cloak made after the Spanish fashion, with all things suitable, the value whereof will be 20,000*l.* and this is thought shall be for the wedding-day in Paris. His other suits are all rich as invention can frame, or art fashion. His colours for the entrance are white pwatchett, and for the wedding crimson and gold.

Three rich suits a-piece,

Twenty Privy Gentlemen; seven Grooms of his chamber; thirty Chief Yeomen; two Master Cooks.

Of his own servants for the Household,

Twenty-five second Cooks; fourteen Yeomen of the second rank, seventeen Grooms to them; forty-five Labourers Selletters belonging to the kitchen.

CHARLES

I.

1625.

Twelve Pages, three rich suits a-piece; twenty four Footmen, three rich suits, and two rich coats a-piece; six Huntsmen, two rich suits a-piece; twelve Grooms one suit a-piece; six Riders, one suit a-piece; besides eight others to attend the stable business.

Three rich velvet coaches inside; without with gold lace all over; eight horses in each coach, and six coachmen richly suited; eighty-score musicians richly suited; twenty-two watermen, suited in sky-coloured taffety, all gilded with anchors, and my Lord's arms; all these to row in one barge of my Lord's. All these servants have every thing suitable, all being at his Grace's charge.

Lords already known to go,

Marquis Hamilton,	Mr. Villars,
Earl Dorset,	Mr. Edward Howard,
Earl Denbigh,	Lord President's * two sons,
Earl Montgomery,	Mr. William Legar,
Earl Warwick,	Mr. Francis Anslowe,
Earl Anglesea,	Mr. Edward Goring,
Earl Salisbury,	Mr. Walter Steward.
Lord Walden,	

Besides twenty-four Knights of great worth, all which will carry six or seven Pages a-piece, and as many Footmen. This whole train will be six or seven hundred persons at least. When this list is perfect, there will appear many more than I have named.

* Lord Manchester.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

RICHARD
III.
1484.

A P P E N D I X.

No. I.

Letter of Richard III. to the Bishop of Lincoln.

From the
Harleian li-
brary.

[This letter is an additional proof of the falshood of the traditional story about Jane Shore, and confirms Sir Thomas More's account of her, *in his pitiful history*.—That Lord Hastings had succeeded Edward the Fourth, in her affections, is well known; but perhaps the reader now learns for the first time, that after her penance, she had another admirer, who *made a contract of matrimony* with her.]

BY THE KING.

RIGHT Reverend Father in God, &c. Signifying unto you, that it is shewed unto us, that our servant and sollicitor, Thomas Lynom, marvellously blinded and abused with the late wife of William Shore, now being in Ludgate by our commandment, hath made contract of matrimony with her, as it is said, and intendeth, to our full great marvel, to proceed to effect of the same. We, for many causes, would be sorry that he so should be disposed; pray you therefore to send for him, and in that ye goodly may exhort and stir him to the contrary. And if ye find him utterly set for to marry her, and none otherwise would be advertised, then, if it may

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stand

RICHARD
III.
1484.

stand with the law of the church, we be content the time of marriage be deferred to our coming next to London; that, upon sufficient surety found of her good abearing, ye do send for her keeper, and discharge him of our said commandment, by warrant of these, committing her to the rule and guiding of her father, or any other, by your discretion, in the mean season. Given, &c.

To the Right Reverend Father in God,
The Bishop of Lincoln, our Chancellor.

No. II.

The Earl of Leicest' to Queen Elizabeth.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

From the original in the
Paper-office.

[This letter, which produced the memorable and popular visit of Queen Elizabeth to her camp at Tilbury, was omitted in its proper place; and it is hoped, the subject will justify the inserting it here.]

July the 27th, 1588*.

MY most dear and gracious Lady! It is most true that these enemies that approach your kingdom and person, are your undeserved foes, and being so, hating you for a righteous cause, there is the less fear to be had of their malice or their forces; for there is a most just God that beholdeth the innocency of your heart; and the cause you are assailed for is his and his church's; and he never failed any that faithfully do put their chief trust in his goodness. He hath, to comfort you withal, given you great and mighty means to defend yourself; which means, I doubt not but your Majesty will timely and princely use; and your good God that ruleth all, will assist you and bless you with victory.

It doth much rejoice me, to find, by your letter, your noble disposition, as well in present gathering your forces, as in employing your own person in this dangerous action. And because it pleaseth your Majesty to ask mine advice touching your army, and to acquaint me with your secret determination for your person; I will plainly and according to my poor knowledge, deliver my opinion to you. For your army, it is more than time† it were gathered, and

* The Earl died in the beginning of the September following.

† Sir John Smith, an old soldier, in his curious treatise of the tactics of this time,

gives but an indifferent account of the formation and discipline of this army, which he saw encamped; so it was very fortunate the veteran troops in the Low Countries did not land.

ELIZA.
BEIH.
1:88.

about you, or so near you, as you may have the use of it upon few hours warning; the reason is, that your mighty enemies are at hand, and if God suffer them to pass by your fleet, you are sure they will attempt their purpose in landing with all expedition. And albeit your navy be very strong, yet, as we have always heard, the other is not only far greater, but their forces of men much beyond your's; else were it in vain for them to bring only a navy provided to keep the sea. But, so furnished, as to both keep the seas with strength sufficient, and to land such a power as may give battle to any Prince; as, no doubt, if the Prince of Parma come forth, their forces by sea shall not only be greatly augmented, but his power to land shall the easier take effect, wheresoever he will attempt; therefore it is most requisite for your Majesty to be provided for all events, of as great force every where as you can devise. For there is no dalliance at such a time, nor with such an enemy; you shall hazard your own honour, beside your person and country, and must offend your gracious God, that gave you these forces and power, and will not use them when you should. Now for the placing of your army; no doubt but I think, about London, the meetest for my part; and suppose others will be of the same mind; and that your Majesty do forthwith give the charge thereof, to some special nobleman about you; and likewise do place all your chief officers; that every man may know what he shall do; and gather as many good horses, above all things, as you can, and the oldest, best, and assuredest Captains, to lead; for therein will consist the greatest hope of good success, under God. And as soon as your army is assembled, that they be, by and by, exercised, every man to know his weapon; and that there be all other things prepared in readiness for your army, as if they should march upon a day's warning; especially carriages, and a commissary of victuals, and your master of ordnance. Of these

these things, but for your Majesty's commandment, others can say more than I, and partly there is orders already set down.

E L I Z A-
B E T H.
1588.

Now for your person, being the most dainty and sacred thing we have in this world to care for, much more for advice to be given for the direction of it, a man must tremble when he thinks of it; specially finding your Majesty to have that princely courage, to transport yourself to the utmost confines of your realm, to meet your enemies and to defend your subjects. I cannot, most dear Queen, consent to that; for upon your well doing consists all the safety of your whole kingdom; and therefore preserve that above all. Yet will I not that, in some sort, so princely and so rare a magnanimity should not appear to your people and the world as it is. And thus far, if it please your Majesty, you may do, to draw yourself to your house at Havering; and your army being about London, at Stratford, East Ham, and the villages thereabout, shall be always not only a defence, but a ready supply to these counties, Essex and Kent, if need be. And in the mean time, your Majesty, to comfort this army, and people of both counties, may, if it please you, spend two or three days to see both the camp and the forts. It is not above fourteen miles at most from Havering, and a very convenient place for your Majesty to lie by the way, and so rest you at the camp. I trust you will be pleased with your * Lieutenant's cabin; and within a mile there is a gentleman's house, where your Majesty may also be. You shall comfort not only these thousands, but many more that shall hear of it. And thus far, but no farther, can I consent to adventure your person. And by the grace of God, there can be no danger in this, though the enemy should pass by your fleet. But your Majesty may without dishonour return to your own forts being but at hand; and you may have two thousand horse, well to be lodged at Rumford and other villages near Havering; and your footmen to lodge near London.

* The Earl himself.

Lastly,

ELIZABETH.
1588.

Lastly, for myself, I see, most gracious Lady, you know what will most comfort a faithful servant; for there is nothing in this world I take that joy in, that I do in your good favour; and it is no small favour to send to your poor servant, thus to visit him. I can yield no recompence, but the like sacrifice I owe to God, which is a thankful heart; and humbly next my soul to him, to offer body, life and all, to do you acceptable service; and so will pray to God, not only for present victory over all your enemies, but longest life, to see the end of all those that wish you evil, and make me so happy as to do you some service.

From Gravesend, ready to go to your poor, but most willing soldiers. This Saturday the 27th July.

Your Majesty's, &c.

R. LEYCESTER.

P. S. I have taken the best order I can possibly with the Lieutenants of Kent, to be present at Dover themselves, and to keep there three or four thousand men to supply my Lord Admiral, if he come thither, and with any thing else that there is to be had. I wish there might be some quantity of more powder sent to lie in Dover, for all needs.

No. III.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

Letters from the Commanders of the Fleet, about the Spanish Armada.

From the originals in the Paper-office.

[The zeal and activity which these great seamen exerted at this important crisis, will always endear their memory to the nation.]

From Sir Francis Drake to Secretary Walsingham, from aboard the Revenge.

June the 24th, 1588.

ALTHOUGH I do very well know, that your Honour shall be at large advertised by my very good Lord, the Lord Admiral, that the Spanish forces are descried to be near at hand, in several companies, on our coast, as it is reported for certain by three barks, unto whom they gave chase and made shot; yet have I thought it good also to write these few lines unto your Honour, nothing doubting but that (with God's assistance) they shall be so fought out, and encountered withall, in such sort, as I hope will qualify their malicious and long pretended practices. And therefore I beseech your Honour to pray continually for our good success in this action, to the performance whereof we have all resolutely avowed the adventure of our lives.

ELIZA.
BRETH.
1588.

From the Lord Admiral† to the Same.

S I R,

July the 6th, 1588.

BEING here in the midst of the Channel of the Sleeve, on Friday being the 5th of this month, I received your letter of the 28th of June, and another of the same date, which was written after you had made up your packet.

The cause of the long time that these letters were in coming unto me was, because the pursuivant embarking himself upon the Monday at Plymouth, was fain to beat up and down the sea with a contrary wind until Tuesday, before he could find me.

By your first letter, I find how greatly you stand assured, that neither the French King, nor the havens and port towns, that stand for the King, will give any help or assistance unto the Spanish army. As for New Haven, it is not a place that can serve their turns.

By your other letter you perceive, by an advertisement you have from my brother Stafford, that there is money sent down to Brest and Conquest, for the relief and assistance of the Spanish fleet, if they arrive there. I wish with all my heart, that they were with the best * * * * † they could give them. It should not be long after, but that I would give them another welcome. For if it be they mean to touch there, then assuredly they have a meaning to join forces with the Duke of Parma. I have no doubt, but that Lord Henry Seymour, being so strong as he is, will have a care, that he shall not start any whither to meet them. And it shall be very well that you have some trusty espial there, to give certain intelligence when the Duke's forces shall be ready, that then my Lord Henry

† Lord Charles Howard, afterwards Earl of Nottingham.

‡ This and several other such gaps, in

this letter, could not be filled up, the original being much decayed.

Seymour

Seymour may lie in the mouth of their haven to intercept their coming forth.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

I am sorry to perceive by your letter, that her Majesty hath no more care to have forces about her; considering the great peril that may come by neglecting that which should be done in time. I have written unto her Majesty very earnestly about it; and, I hope, that God will put into her mind to do that which may tend most to her safety.

I am sure you have seen the letter which I sent unto her Majesty, of the discovery of certain of the Spanish fleet not far off Scilly, which made me to make as much haste out to sea as I could; for upon Sunday our victuals came to us, and having the wind at north-east, I would not stay the taking in of them all; but taking in some part of them, I appointed the rest to follow with me, and so bore to Scilly, thinking to have cut off those Spanish ships seen there, from the rest of their fleet; but the wind continued not sixteen hours there, but turned South South-West, that we were fain to lie off and on in the Sleeve, and could go no farther.

Then did I send Sir Francis Drake, with half a score ships and three or four pinnaces, to discover. In his way, hard aboard Ushant, he met with a man of mine, whom I had sent in a bark, ten days before, to lie off and on there for discovery, who had met with an Irish bark, and staid her, which had been on the 22d taken by eighteen great ships of the Spanish fleet, sixteen leagues South South-West of Scilly. They had taken out of the said bark five of her most principal men, and left in her but three men and a boy. One of the greatest Spanish ships towed her at her stern by a cable, which in the night time, the wind blowing somewhat stiff, broke, and so she escaped in the storm. This did assure us greatly, that the Spanish fleet was broken in the storms afore; and, by all likelihood, we conjectured, if the wind had continued northerly, that they would have

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returned back again for the Groyne; but * * * * * wind hath served these six or seven days * * * * * must look for them every hour if they mean to come hither.

Sir, I sent a fine Spanish carvell on, eight days ago, to the Groyne to learn intelligence, such a one as would not have been mistrusted; but when she was fifty leagues on her way, this fouthery wind forced her back again unto us. Therefore I pray you, if you hear or understand of any news or advertisements by land, that I may hear of them from you with expedition.

I have divided myself here in three parts, and yet we lie within sight of one another; so as if any of us do discover the Spanish fleet, we give notice thereof presently the one to the other, and thereupon repair and assemble together. I myself do lie in the midst of the channel with the greatest force. Sir Francis Drake hath twenty ships and four or five pinnaces, which lie towards Ushant; and Mr. Hawkins, with as many more, lieth towards Scilly. Thus are we fain to do; or else, with this wind, they might pass by, and we never the wiser. Whatsoever had been made of the Sleeve, it is another manner of thing than it was taken for. We find it by experience, and daily observation, to be an hundred miles over: a large room for me to look unto. And whereas it is thought that we should have regard * * * * * forces of the Spanish fleet, if they should bend for Scotland, they would in their way thither keep so far away westward of Cape Clear, as they would be farther from us at any time than it is betwixt England and Spain; so that the best advertisements, that we must hope for, must be from you, by the knowledge that you shall have overland from Scotland, if they be discovered there; and then our best and nearest course will be unto them through the narrow seas, where I have no doubt but we shall defeat them of their fleet, whatever they do with * * * *. But, for my own part, I cannot persuade myself but their intent is * * * * *. Where there

there are so many doubts we must work by the likeliest ways, and leave unto God to direct for the best. And so I bid you most hearty farewell. From aboard her Majesty's good ship the Ark, the 6th of July 1588.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

Your assured loving friend,

HOWARD.

Sir Francis Drake to the Lord Henry Seymour.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord,

July 21.

I AM commanded by my good Lord, the Lord Admiral, to send you the carvel in haste with these letters, giving your Lordship to understand, that the army of Spain arrived upon our coast the 20th of the present, and the 21st we had them in chace; and so coming up to them, there had passed some common shot between some of our fleet and some of them; and as far as we can perceive, they are determined to sell their lives with blows. Whereupon his Lordship hath commanded me to write unto your Lordship and Sir William Winter, that those ships serving under your charge should be put into the best and strongest manner you can, and ready to assist his Lordship, for the better encountering of them in those parts where you now are. In the mean time, what his Lordship, and the rest following him, may do, shall be surely performed. His Lordship hath commanded me to write hearty commendations to your Lordship and Sir William Winter. I do salute your Lordship, Sir William Winter, Sir Henry Palmer, and all the rest of those honourable gentlemen serving under you, with the like; beseeching God of his mercy to give her Majesty, our gracious sovereign, always victory against her enemies. Written aboard her Majesty's good

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1588.

ship the Revenge, off of Start, this 21st, late in the evening 1588.

Your Lordship's poor friend ready to be commanded,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

P. S. This letter my honourable good Lord is sent in haste. The fleet of Spaniards are somewhat above a hundred sails, many great ships. But truly, I think not half of them men of war. Haste.

Your Lordship's assured,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

From the Same to Secretary Walsingham.

Most Honourable,

July the 31st, 1588.

I AM commanded to send these prisoners ashore by my Lord Admiral; which had, ere this, by me been done, but that I thought their being here might have done something, which is not thought meet now. Let me beseech your honour, that they may be presented unto her Majesty, either by your honour, or my honourable good Lord my Lord Chancellor, or both of you. The one, Don Pedro, is a man of great estimation with the King of Spain, and thought next in this army to the Duke of Sidonia. If they should be given from me unto any other, it would be some grief to my friends. If her Majesty will have them, God defend, but I should think it happy.

We have the army of Spain before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle a pull with him. There was never any thing pleased better, than the seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northwards.

God grant we have a good eye to the Duke of Parma; for, with the grace of God, if we live, I doubt it not, but ere it be long, so to handle

handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia, as he shall wish himself
at St. Mary port, among his vine trees.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

God give us grace to depend upon him; so shall we not doubt
victory; for our cause is good. Humbly taking my leave, this last of
July, 1588.

Your honour's faithfully to be commanded ever,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

I crave pardon of your honour for my haste, for that I had the
watch this last night upon the enemy.

Your's ever,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

From the Same to the Queen.

August the 8th, 1588.

THE absence of my Lord Admiral, most gracious sovereign, hath
emboldened me to put my pen to the paper. On Friday last,
upon good consideration, we cast the army of Spain so far to the
northwards, as they could neither recover England nor Scotland;
and within three days after, we were entertained with a great storm
considering the time of year, the which in many of our judgments
hath not a little the enemy way.

If the wind hinders it not, I think they are forced to Denmark,
and that for divers causes. Certain it is, that many of their people
were sick and not a few killed; their ships, sails, ropes and waste
needeth great reparations, for that they had all felt of your Majesty's
forces. If your Majesty thought it meet, it were not amiss you sent
presently to Denmark, to understand the truth, and to deal with that
King according to your Majesty's great wisdom. I have not written
this whereby your Majesty should diminish any of your forces. Your

Highness's

ELIZABETH.
1588.

Highness's enemies are many; yet God hath and will hear your Majesty's prayers, putting your hand to the plough for the defence of his truth, as your Majesty hath begun. God, for his truth's sake, bleſs your ſacred Maſteſty now and ever. Written aboard your Maſteſty's good ſhip the Revenge, this 8th of Auguſt, 1588.

Your Maſteſty's faithful vaſſal,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

From the Same to Secretary Walsingham.

Auguſt the 10th, 1588.

REASONS why he thinks, that the Spaniſh fleet is gone to Norway or Denmark; that the King of Denmark can beſt help their wants.

The Prince of Parma, I take him to be as a bear robbed of her whelps; and no doubt, but being ſo great ſoldier as he is, that he will preſently, if he may, undertake ſome great matter, for his reſt will ſtand now thereupon. It is for certain, that the Duke of Sidonia ſtandeth ſomewhat jealous of him, and the Spaniards begin to hate him, their honour being touched ſo near, and many of their lives ſpent. I aſſure your Honour not ſo little as five thouſand men leſs, than when we firſt ſaw them near Plymouth; divers of their ſhips ſunk and taken; and they have nothing to ſay for themſelves in excuſe, but that they came to the place appointed, which was at Calais, and there ſtaid the Duke of Parma's coming above twenty-four hours, yea, and until they were fired out. So this is my poor concluſion, if we may recover near Dunkirk this night, or to-morrow morning, ſo as their power may ſee us returned from the Channel, and ready to encounter them, if they once ſally, that the next news you ſhall hear, will be the one to meeting againſt the other; which when it ſhall come to paſs, or whether they meeting or no, let us all
with

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with one consent, both high and low, magnify and praise our most gracious and merciful God, for his infinite and unspeakable goodness towards us.

ELIZABETH.
1588.

Written with much haste, for that we are ready to set sail to prevent the Duke of Parma, this southerly wind, if it please God; for, truly, my poor opinion is, that we should have a great eye upon him.

P. S. Since the writing hereof, I have spoken with an Englishman, which came from Dunkirk yesterday; who saith, upon his life, there is no fear of the fleet. Yet would I willingly see it.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.